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THE *CARMEN SAECVLARE* OF HORACE AND ITS PERFORMANCE, JUNE 3 B.C. 17.

The central idea of this paper (read to the Oxford Philological Society on May 13) was communicated by me in March to a friend then in Rome (Prof. Stewart), with a request that he would visit the sites mentioned in it with Horace's *Carmen* in his hand. My letter, which he showed to Mr. Ashby, Mr. Stuart Jones, and others at the British School, seems to have roused fresh interest in a suggestion already made (if I am rightly informed) that the site of the Apollo temple of Augustus was not where I have assumed it to be, following Hülsen, but where the temple of Jupiter Victor is generally believed to have stood, overlooking the Forum Boarium and the Circus Maximus. Mr. Stuart Jones has kindly explained this site to me with the map, and pointed out that it suits my interpretation of the singing of the *Carmen* better than the other; and so far as I can follow the arguments there seems to me to be strong evidence for it. In fact it seems to have been assumed at the British School from the views expressed in my letter that I had arrived at the conclusion that the temple and its area were in this position and not that postulated by Hülsen. As the question cannot be further discussed on the spot for some time, I think it as well to publish the paper as I wrote it, in order that archaeologists may see for themselves how far it has any bearing on the problem.

W. W. F.

THE great object of Augustus in celebrating *Ludi saeculares* in 17 B.C. was to encourage the belief in himself and the consequent active loyalty to himself, as the restorer of the *pax deorum*,—the good relation between the divine and human inhabitants of Rome. So far he had tried to attain this end by the ancient usual and proper means, i.e. by carrying out the various regulations of the *ius diuinum*, so many of which had long been neglected. But in that year he determined to undertake a special celebration, with the design of more effectually stamping the impression already made on the minds of the people; and it so happens that we have more detailed knowledge of this celebration than of any other Roman rite of any period. This is fortunate, for it stands on the margin between an old and a new régime, like the *Aeneid* of Virgil, who

had died two years earlier: that great religious poem was just becoming known, and there is an allusion to it in the hymn of which I am going to speak.¹ The Ludi were the outward or ritualistic expression of the idea immortalized by the poet, that a regeneration is at hand of Rome and Italy, in religion, morals, agriculture, government: old things are now to be put away,² a new and glorious era is to open. Henceforward the Roman was to look ahead of him in hope and confidence, trusting in Augustus, the Aeneas of the actual State.

Thus the study of the ritual of this festival is in every way most instructive, and everyone can study it for himself in the several sources from which our information is derived: in the account given by Zosimus,³ in the Sibylline oracle which he has fortunately preserved, in the hymn sung on the last day of the Ludi, and in the inscribed *Acta* of which a great part was discovered in 1890 by the Tiber bank near the Ponte St. Angelo.⁴ Soon after the publication of this latest source, it was discussed from three several points of view at one of the most interesting meetings of this Society which I have ever attended. I do not remember that any of us who took part in that discussion laid stress on the new light which it threw on the performance of the *Carmen saeculare*: but it soon became apparent that it had a direct bearing not only on the performance but on the matter and composition of the hymn, and would give rise to controversy on these points. For whereas up till then we only knew that it was sung on the Palatine,⁵ before the temple of Apollo which Augustus had lately built there in priuato solo, we learnt from the *Acta* (line 147) that it was sung also on the Capitol: *Sacrificioque perfecto pueri XXVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt* (i.e. on the Palatine) *eademque modo in Capitolio. Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus.*

Mommsen in commenting on this in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII., where he published the inscription, insisted that the *argumentum* of the hymn forbids us to suppose that the whole of it was sung both on Palatine and on Capitoline, for only the middle part of it, where Jupiter and Juno the Capitoline deities are rather obscurely hinted at, is suited to the Capitol, while Apollo and Diana (who was associated with Apollo in the Palatine temple)⁶ are prominent both at the beginning and end. The first part, he contended, was sung on the Palatine, the middle part on the Capitol, and the last part again after the return of the choirs to their original station. As to singing *en route*, he did not express a definite opinion.

This view gave rise to a good deal of controversy, as will be seen by reference to the last edition of Wickham's Horace; but it has recently been

¹ Line 40 foll.

² For the meaning of *saeculum* and *saeculum condere*, see Mommsen, *Rom. Chronologie* ed. 2 p. 172, and Wissowa, *Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* pp. 200-202.

³ Zosimus ii. 5: the oracle is in ii. 6. They are printed in Wickham's Horace in the introduction to the *Carm. Saec.*

⁴ *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII. p. 255 foll., con-

tains the text and Mommsen's commentary. Dessau, *Inscript. Selectae* ii. 1. 282, does not give the whole document.

⁵ So Zosimus, who adds that the hymn was sung both in Latin and Greek: but of this we have no confirmation.

⁶ Propertius ii. 31. 15. It also seems to be implied in Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 13.

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¹ Wissowa, *Relig. Rom.* note. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 256.

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re-asserted by Wissowa, who in reprinting a paper written in 1894 about the Ludi, added a note in which he declared that the threefold division of the *Carmen* 'springt in die Augen,' that lines 37-52 belong to the Capitoline worship, all the rest to that of the Palatine, and assumes that what belongs to each temple area was necessarily sung there. He too declines to speak with confidence about singing during the procession from one area to the other.¹

It may clear the ground if I state my reasons for believing that the hymn was not sung in procession at all. True, such singing was not unknown at Rome. In 207 B.C. a choir of 27 virgins sang a *carmen* in Saturnian verse of Livius the poet as they went in procession from the shrine of Apollo in the Campus Martius to the Forum, where they stopped and danced in a peculiar manner with a rope,² and thence proceeded, whether singing or not Livy does not say, to the temple of Juno Regina on the Aventine, which had been struck by lightning. This performance, as Diels has observed in his *Sibyllinische Blätter*,³ stands half-way between the old semi-magical singing and dancing of the Salii and the Fratres Arvales, and the singing of our *Carmen*, which was really only a *carmen* (so to speak) by courtesy, having no magical intent whatever,⁴ and, as being in Greek lyrical metre, does not suggest dancing in the sense of any old Roman religious practice. Rhythmic movements of some kind there certainly were, as I hope to show directly, but in the two sacred areas, not in procession from one to the other. And further, the words of the *Acta* seem to me explicit: the hymn was sung on Palatine and Capitoline, and nothing is there said of any point between the two. Practically too there would have been serious difficulty in marshalling 54 boys and girls, if they sang as they went down the steep hill from the Apollo temple to the Sacra via, along that irregular way and through the narrow fornix Fabianus into the Forum, and finally up the steep ascent to the temple of Jupiter. Gardthausen, in his work on Augustus,⁵ suggested that they might have stopped at particular points to sing, e.g. in the Forum: but there is nothing in the hymn or the *Acta* to support this,—no deity of the Forum is mentioned, nor did the Forum play any part in the religious rites of the Ludi. Once more, if the children had to sing in procession, accompanied as I presume they were by instruments,⁶ careful rehearsal would be needed more than once: and if this were done in

¹ Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* p. 206 and note. Mommsen in *Epigraphica* viii. p. 256.

² Liv. 27. 37. 'Septem et uiginti uirgines, longam indutae uestem, carmen in Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant: illa tempestate forsan laudabile rudibus ingenii, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur. . . . A porta Iugario uico in forum uenere: in foro pompa constitit: et per manus reste data, uirgines sonum uocis pulsus pedum modulantes incesserunt.' Diels, *Sib. Blätter* 91, puts this rope-dancing down as Greek, not Roman, and connects it with the

ropes which occur in lists of articles paid for by the *leporouoi* in Delian inscriptions.

³ p. 91 note 1.

⁴ For the original magical meaning of the word, see Jevons in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 94 foll.

⁵ Augustus und seine Zeit, vol. I. Pt. ii. p. 630. Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, vol. V. p. 94 note, is right in objecting to this kind of interpretation.

⁶ *Aenatores* are mentioned in line 88 of the *Acta*: but these belong to another part of the Ludi. I imagine that the boys and girls were accompanied by tibicines.

public, as it must have been, it would destroy the novelty of the performance on June 3. We know from *Odes* iv. 5 *ad fin.* that Horace took pains with his rehearsing: but he says nothing there that can suggest processional singing. It is far better, I think, to accept the words of the *Acta* as giving us the simple fact. They are in other matters curiously explicit, and it is unlikely that in this one particular they should have been unnecessarily concise. I prefer even to accept the literal statement that the hymn was sung right through once on the Palatine and once on the Capitol, and that the performance came to an end there. At any rate we will for the moment assume that the children were not compelled, after singing nineteen stanzas in one place and the same number at another nearly half a mile away, to plod back again and go through them all once more at the original starting-point.

But how are we to reconcile this limitation of the places of performance to two, with the contents of the poem itself? In order to explain how I think this may be done, I must digress for a moment, and consider what the instructions must have been which Augustus gave to his poet-laureate. We must not of course imagine that on such an occasion Horace was left to himself. I suppose there is no bit of Latin poetry which has so constantly been in my mind as this hymn: and the impression it always gives me is that Augustus wrote out in prose what he wanted put into it, and that his laureate did this with consummate skill and *concinnitas*; but the result, for me at least, is that it is as flat as such compositions usually have been. Nay, it is occasionally prosy, as e.g. in the 5th and 6th stanzas. Recently Signor Ferrero has glorified it as a most magnificent poem, full of inspiration, in language which suggests as great a want of judgment in literary, as he so often exhibits in historical, criticism.¹ At any rate the inspiration came from Augustus and not from the poet's native genius.

First, I should like to point out (though it does not directly concern our problem) that Augustus clearly wished Horace to combine in the hymn the three ideas of *religion, morality, and the fertility of man, beast, and crop*. The Princeps, I have long been confident, had grasped the fundamental idea of the old Roman worship, still alive in the hearts of most Italians, that this general fertility, without which the State could not go on and prosper, depended on the dutiful attention (*pietas*) paid to the divine beings who had taken up their abode in farm or city: ideas which covered the ordered life and religion both of family and State,—both morality and religious duty. All these three ideas will be found duly expressed in the hymn.²

Secondly, Horace must have had instructions not to mention Augustus personally,—that would be unnecessary, owing to the prominent part taken by him in the whole ritual of the Ludi; but to give his poem a strong Apolline colouring, which was much the same thing as giving it a strong Augustan colouring, so completely had Augustus by this time come to be associated with the god whom he had settled close to his own house on the Palatine and on

¹ *Op. cit.* vol. V. p. 90 foll.

² e.g. in lines 13 foll., 29 foll., 45 foll. and 57 foll.

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his own land. This of course suited Horace exactly as a poet, and he expresses his satisfaction in *Odes* iv. 6. 29 foll. I think it is quite possible that he went a little beyond his instructions; for Apollo and Diana are far more prominent than Jupiter of the Capitol and Juno, who are only alluded to, not named.¹

No doubt it was part of Augustus' policy to put the great Jupiter of the republic somewhat in the background as compared with his own Apollo: this can be proved in many ways:² yet I half suspect that Horace here went a little beyond what was required of him. The Capitoline deities had as a matter of fact been so far, i.e. up to the third day, on which the hymn was sung, more prominent in the ritual than Apollo.

Thirdly, Horace must have been told that the hymn must contain allusions to *all* the deities invoked in the ritual during the three previous nights and two days, as well as those of the third day. You will remember that offerings had been made on the first night, at the underground altar of the Tarentum, near the Tiber bank, to the Moirae, on the second to Illeithia (or the plural), and on the third to Tellus or Ceres:³ and these all duly appear in stanzas 4 to 8 inclusive. Then by day the sacrifices had been offered to the Capitoline deities,—and they too are here, though somewhat obscured, in lines 45 to 52. These Capitoline deities are followed by Fides, Pax, Honos, etc., of whom we do not hear anything in the ritual: but this point I must for the moment postpone. Then Apollo and Diana come to the front again, and the hymn ends with a kind of summing-up of all the deities, Jupiter, Apollo, and Diana being mentioned by name.

The result of all this is that to a casual reader the hymn is a jumble of divine names, Roman and Greek, with Apollo appearing oftener than the rest, and almost abruptly in lines 33 and 61. Even when we have learnt all about the ritual and the policy of Augustus, it is very hard to divide the poem intelligibly: and I confess that no threefold division of it has ever 'sprung into my eyes,' as into Dr. Wissowa's.⁴ Those five stanzas concerned with the deities of the night-ritual absolutely forbid it. So far as I can see, it runs thus: 1. an Apolline introduction or proodos of two stanzas, with an invocation of Apollo as Sol, which I will explain directly; 2. five stanzas concerned

¹ i.e. in 45-52.

² See e.g. J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa*, p. 166 foll., who has many interesting remarks on the Apollinism of Augustus.

³ In line 29 it is tempting to write Tellus with a capital T: but here Ceres seems to be performing her part as deity. The two run very closely together throughout the early history of the Roman religion: see my *Roman Festivals*, p. 73 foll., Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult. der Römer*, p. 158 foll. Mr. Stuart Jones has drawn my attention to Petersen's very interesting suggestion of a connexion between this stanza and the slab from the Ara Pacis in the Uffizi at Florence; see Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae* p. 48 foll.: Mrs. Strong's *Roman Sculpture*, p. 42.

⁴ *Abhandlungen* p. 206 note 1, quoting Vahlen, whose paper I have not been able to see. Wissowa seems to take the whole down to line 36 as standing together and Apolline (p. 207 note). But to me lines 13 to 32 are plainly in honour of the deities of the Tarentum, though Illeithia is introduced first instead of second, perhaps in order to run her into a dim kind of identification with Diana Lucina, or Juno Lucina, or both. This would suit the last and Apolline day of the festival: and we must note that the Tarentine deities are not now Dis and Proserpina, i.e. sinister deities of the underworld, but helpful ones (Wiss. 208).

with the deities of the nightly worship at the Tarentum; 3. a return to Apollo for three stanzas; 4. an appeal to the Capitoline deities, whom we identify by the white victims in line 49, followed by two apparently rather irrelevant stanzas about the prestige of Rome and her virtues; 5. another return to Apollo and Diana; and a concluding stanza, summing up the whole. How are we to reconcile all this apparent confusion with the singing of the hymn on Palatine and Capitol only—i.e. on two sites with which Jupiter and Juno, Apollo and Diana were respectively alone concerned? To sing of Jupiter or the Parcae or Tellus at the temple of Apollo on the Palatine would seem inappropriate, if we assume that the whole hymn was gone through there, as the *Acta* plainly imply; and still more inappropriate would it seem that Apollo and Diana and the deities of the underground altar should be celebrated in the precincts of the great Jupiter of the Capitol.

The solution of these difficulties which I now propose for criticism has been suggested by a consideration of the nature of the two sites on which we know for certain that the hymn was sung: combined with the further consideration, in which no doubt everyone will agree with me, that this hymn was not sung by two choruses of boys and girls standing stock still all the time, but making certain movements like the simple evolutions of the Greek chorus. This is now made clear by line 21 of the *Acta*, which probably belongs to a letter of Augustus to the quindecimviri datable some three months before the festival. This left plenty of time for choir training, and the inference is that there was plenty to learn. The words of Augustus' letter show that there was more than learning the hymn by heart; the necessary steps are to be taken 'ad carmen canendum chorosque habendos.' Here some kind of evolutions must be meant, if not exactly dancing.¹ We cannot know what those movements were for certain; but we may be sure that they would add to the interest and pleasure both of performers and spectators: and perhaps what I am going to say about the nature of the two sites will help us in guessing at some of them.

The only possible site of the temple of Apollo, says Hülsen,² is at the north-eastern corner of the Palatine, where its substructures of brickwork indicate an area of 110 by 150 metres, in the rear-centre of which it stood, with its back walls almost hanging over the spot where the arch of Constantine now stands. Doubtless these substructures raised the whole area above the average level of the Palatine: Ovid suggests this strongly in the lines in his *Tristia* in which he imagines his book arriving in Rome from Tomi and climbing up to this temple:³

Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei.

¹ For Horace's use of the word *chorus*, see *Odes* iv. 7. 6: i. 4. 5. Cp. Propertius ii. 2. 28.

² Hülsen-Jordan, *Rom. Topographie* I. iii. p. 72.

³ *Tristia* iii. 59 foll. (The words 'tenore pari' seem to me now distinctly to favour the new

view as to the site of the temple, if we take them to mean 'going straight on,' equivalent to *uno tenore*, as Mr. A. C. Clark suggests to me. As Ovid's book is supposed to enter the Palatine by the temple of Jup. Stator from the Sacra Via,

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The view from the area must have been magnificent; it enclosed the temple to north, south, and west, and in this open space a few very simple movements would enable the chorus to command every other site of religious or historical interest in the city, now adorned in all directions with new or restored buildings. There was no building as yet in the Palatine that could interfere with this view. Immediately opposite was the Capitol, with its own splendid temple, rising above the Forum; and beyond that again, plainly visible in the distance just to the left of the Capitoline hill, was the site of the Tarentum, where the midnight ceremonies had been held.¹ Let us now apply our knowledge of this splendid prospect to the subject-matter of the *Carmen*.

At once we see that the first three stanzas hang together, and contain a happy allusion to the view from the area: 'possis nihil Roma uisere maius.' But they contain also another allusion, which (so far as I know) has not been noticed in this connexion. On the *fastigium* of the temple there was, as Propertius tells us,² a figure of Sol with a quadriga:

Tum medium claro surgebat marmore templum
Et patria Phoebus carius Ortygia.
In quo Solis erat supra fastigia currus . . .

If we suppose that the first two stanzas were sung by the united choirs in position, or as they wheeled into position on the area, facing the view, we may safely conjecture that when they reached the third stanza they would wheel again to face the temple and Sol looking down from his *fastigium*. If the real sun were shining at the time the effect of this fine stanza would be very impressive. It is in my humble judgment the best in the poem:

Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas, aliusque et idem
Nascere, possis nihil urbe Roma
Visere maius.

As they sang these last words the choirs may have wheeled again to face the prospect of the city. If so, they would then be in the right position for celebrating the next group of deities, those of the Tarentum and the nightly rites, who must of course be taken before those of day and light, as in the order of the festival.

With what movements, if any, the following five stanzas were sung, which plainly refer to the nightly rites, invoking the female deities there worshipped, it is impossible to say. They may have all been sung by the girls, and softly: they are certainly not so well suited to the boys. Nor would it be easy to

and to arrive first at the *domus* of Augustus, it would have to turn sharp to the left to reach the Apollo temple, if it were on Hülsen's site, but would go straight on if it were beyond the *domus* near the western corner of the Palatine.

¹ Since this paper was written Mr. Stuart

Jones has assured me that the view towards the Tarentum would be interfered with by the Capitoline hill and the temple of Jupiter. On the other hand, this would not be the case if we accept the other site for the Apollo temple.

² Propertius iii. 28 foll.

explain why there are so many of them,—five in all,—if Augustus had not given his poet strict orders to bring in the *lex de maritandis ordinibus*,¹—a task accomplished deftly in that prosaic stanza to which I referred just now. Doubtless Horace was very glad to get back to Apollo in the next group of stanzas, to which I now turn.

The more closely I examine the hymn, the more convinced I become that it is purposely written so as to keep its Apolline character persistently in the minds of the audience; three of its five parts are Apolline,—the first, third, and fifth: in between these we have the deities of the Tarentum and those of the Capitol. This reversion to the Apolline character would be emphasized, at the point we have now reached, by a movement of the choirs which would bring them once more into position facing the temple.

There is a difficulty here as to how far we are to consider this reversion to Apollo and Diana as continuing. Wissowa² would limit it to one stanza, putting a full stop (I suppose) after *puellas*, and connecting the four following stanzas together as Capitoline, i.e. as addressed to Jupiter and Juno. By general consent the last of these, beginning '*Quaeque uos bobus ueneratur albis*' is so addressed: for the white heifer was the special victim of Jupiter, and was never offered to Apollo: the *Acta* inform us that Jupiter and Juno had on the two previous days been propitiated with *boues pulchri* and *pulchrae*, while to Apollo had been offered only *cakes* of various kinds. There is also a strong opinion (Mommsen, Vahlen, Wissowa) that the stanza immediately before this one, '*Di probos mores*, etc.,' belongs to the Capitoline deities, and with this I agree, seeing that *probi mores*, and the general well-being of the *gens Romula* would be much more naturally connected with Jupiter and Juno than with Apollo and Diana. But I cannot, with Wissowa, begin the Capitoline part with '*Roma si uestrum est opus*'; Apollo was the protecting god of Troy, and the way in which he is treated in *Od.* iv. 6, written at this same time, seems to me to make it clear that Augustus wished to encourage the idea that Rome was in a legendary sense at least the work of Apollo. I should therefore put a full stop after *relictis*, and there end the Apolline diversion: and imagine the choirs turning towards the Capitoline temple in front of them to begin,—perhaps after a pause,—the address to Jupiter and Juno with '*Di, probos mores docili iuuentae.*'

With this must be connected, not only the next stanza, about which there is no doubt, but that which follows it; in both these we have a distinct expression of the imperial idea, and the mission of Rome in the world, and this idea could be associated with no other deity than Jupiter Capitolinus, and with no other temple than his. Every outward sign of the Roman *imperium* was thus associated in the minds of the people, and Augustus must have known well enough that any change in this could only be very gradually accomplished.

I will also hazard a conjecture that the 15th stanza, with the names of

¹ This *lex Julia* had come into effect the year before that of the *Ludi*, viz. 18 B.C.

² *Abhandlungen* p. 207 note.

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Fides, Pax, and other deified abstractions, belongs to this Capitoline section of the hymn. The abode of Fides, an ancient goddess, was on the Capitol, and there is hardly a doubt that she was closely connected with Jupiter. Wissowa thinks that she was an offshoot from the ancient *Dius Fidius*, who must be identified with Jupiter.¹ The notion in Augustus' mind, which Horace had here to reproduce, was, I think, to lay stress on the Pax Romana, which must rest on the basis of treaties and good faith; and I look upon Fides as here playing the part of a *callida iunctura*, connecting Pax, Honos, Virtus, and Pudor, with the great deities of the Capitol. Pax was in Augustus' head at this time, just hovering, so to speak, on the verge of deification, as may be seen in Tibullus i. 10: and the Ara Pacis was begun only four years later.² Honos et Virtus, though separated in the hymn for metrical reasons, must go together as they always did at Rome; their character is military, and they suggest Mars and the warlike virtues, which would otherwise be unmentioned in the hymn.³ The Pax Romana, let us remember, depended on these virtues as well as the domestic ones. Lastly, Pudor would probably have been Pudicitia if the metre had admitted of it; the latter was the female family virtue at Rome, and here I think we may see a compliment to Livia, and through her to the Roman matrons. Valerius Maximus not long afterwards, in the preface to his sixth book, *de Pudicitia*, thus addressed her: 'Tu prisca religione consecratos Vestae focus incolis, tu Capitolinae Iunonis puluinaribus incubas, tu Palatii column augustos Penates sanctissimumque Iuliae genialem torum adsidua statione celebras.'

This brings us to the end of the Capitoline section of the hymn as I understand it, all of which would be sung with the great Capitoline temple as the most conspicuous object in view. Then we return once more to Apollo and Diana, the choir wheeling round so as to face the temple behind them, and possibly turning towards the Aventine at line 69. Here with great skill the poet introduces Apollo as *augur*, probably in allusion to the *augurium salutis*, which Augustus had revived in B.C. 29,⁴ and with the physical welfare of the people still more distinctly in lines 63 and 64. The verbs become indicative,⁵ anxious prayer changes to confident assertion: and the prosperous future of Rome is thus happily associated with the Augustan Apollo at the end of the performance on the Palatine. The 19th and last stanza, which sums up the whole ceremony as Horace and his choirs are about to return to their homes, could not, I think, have been sung here; it was kept to the real end of the

¹ *Rel. und Kult.* p. 103.

² Wissowa, *R. K.* p. 277.

³ Wissowa, *R. K.* p. 135 foll. It used to be supposed that there was a temple to these deities on the Capitol (see e.g. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* p. 193), the work of Marius. The site of Marius' temple is however uncertain, though this passage of the *Carmen* might be used to support the old hypothesis. The best-known temple was near the Porta Capena: and it is probably of this temple that Dio Cassius writes (liv. 18) that Augustus in this year 17 B.C. fixed

the date of its festival on May 29: which is almost the same thing as saying that he rebuilt it.

⁴ Dio Cass. li. 20: Suet. *Aug.* 31. We know hardly anything about this antique ceremony: but the language of Dio in xxxvii. 24. 1 shows that the word *salutis* (Wissowa, *R. K.* 453) is not the deity Salus, but the health of the people: cp. Cic. *de Legibus* ii. 21: 'augures . . . salutem populi auguranto.' The medical character of Apollo is apparent in line 63-64.

⁵ See Wickham's commentary.

performance, was added as an odd or lucky number, and would be more appropriate to the temple which was still the spiritual home of the idea of Roman greatness. Towards that temple the procession would now make its way, down the steep ascent to the Sacra via, and so through the Forum up to the area Capitolina. Let us now in the last place shortly consider how the hymn was adapted to this site as perfectly as to the other.

The area Capitolina was even larger than that of the Apollo temple, and the view from it was equally magnificent; these two religious sites were in fact the only two in which the choirs would have had ample space for evolutions, and from which at the same time they would be able to see almost every other important religious site in Rome. A good idea may be formed of the size of the Capitoline area from Lanciani's map to scale of the Sacra via,¹ which includes both the Coliseum and the Capitoline; there it will be seen that the area is at least as large as the whole space occupied by the Coliseum. The temple stood in the middle of it, which accounts for the somewhat astonishing fact that (at one time) chariot-races,—a mild form, I presume,—used to be held here at the time of the Latin festival.² As time went on other temples were built here, but there was plenty of room for meetings of Comitia up to the end of the republican period. If we apply these facts to the performance of the *Carmen* here, we see at once that it could be gone through with motions as perfectly appropriate as on the Palatine.

The new temple of Apollo, which they had just left, was in full view across the Forum, with the quadriga of Sol on its *fastigium*,—probably in its newness the most brilliant object in sight. Doubtless the choirs would be facing it as they sang the first three stanzas. The site of the Tarentum across the Campus Martius was of course visible from the southern end of the area, and here the choirs would be during the next five stanzas, while they would wheel again to the west when they reached the second Apolline passage. They would be drawn up in front of the great temple during the Capitoline stanzas that follow, and would wheel about once more for the three Apolline ones with which the singing had concluded on the Palatine.

There would then remain the 19th stanza, summing up the whole performance :

Haec Iouem sentire deosque cunctos
spem bonam certamque domum reporto
doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
dicere laudes.

This is an extremely clever stanza; Horace contrives to bring in Jupiter as after all the presiding genius of Rome, upon whose good will the future of the State depends, and as also the presiding deity among all the rest,—*dei cuncti*, of all of whom, including Apollo, there were statues in the area Capitolina.³ To me

¹ In his *Ruins and Excavations of ancient Rome*, fig. 72.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxvii. 45.

³ Servius, *ad Aen.* ii. 319. The statue of Apollo

here was a remarkable one, thirty cubits high, brought from Apollonia by M. Lucullus, as Pliny tells us *N. H.* iv. 92 and xxiv. 30.

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it seems impossible that this concluding stanza should have been sung anywhere but in that area. But at the same time Horace has most dexterously managed to make the final touch an Apolline one, as would in fact be fitting on a day especially dedicated to the Augustan Apollo. Phoebus and Diana are not here alluded to as the controllers of the destinies of Rome, but as the deities in whose honour the choirs, now about to disperse, have learnt and sung this hymn.

Beyond doubt this last stanza was sung by both boys and girls. How the rest of the *Carmen* was distributed between them I think it is impossible to determine, though many attempts have been made. I have made attempts myself, but never reached a satisfactory conclusion: we simply have not the necessary data. I have found it much more interesting and instructive to myself to correlate the divisions of the hymn with the two sites in which we know it was sung, and the views from them.

It is difficult to realize to the full, even for one who has been constantly occupied with the religious side of Roman life, how intensely local all Roman worship was,—how intimate the association between place and cult.¹ It was in fact a perfectly right instinct that prompted Mommsen and others to assume that the Apolline part of the hymn must have been sung on the Palatine, and the Jovian part on the Capitolium, and thus even to strain the plain words of the inscription, 'Eodemque modo in Capitolio . . .' But it was clearly impossible to carry out such a principle logically on this June 3; for to do it the choirs would have had to make a pilgrimage of about a mile and back right across the Campus Martius to the Tarentum, and there to sing, in broad daylight instead of at night, the stanzas appropriated to the Tarentine deities. Yet to leave these out would have been to violate the plan of Augustus for including in the last performance all the deities invoked in the festival. Instead of this Augustus chose the two finest religious sites in Rome, from each of which everything could be seen that was to be alluded to in the hymn, for the complete performance; so far yielding to popular feeling and conviction as to fix the second and last performance for the Capitolium, the real religious centre of the whole empire: but astutely taking care that the interest of this third day's entertainment should be closely connected with himself and the new régime, and that the religious colouring of the ritual and the hymn should be emphatically Apolline. Nothing could please his poet better:

Spiritus Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.

¹ The same holds good in the case of Ludi, which were in origin only a form of cult. The ludi Romani e.g. were in the cult of Jupiter, and originally took place on the dedication day

of the Capitoline temple, the ides of September. The Megalesia were celebrated before the temple of Magna Mater, 'in ipso Magnae Matris conspectu' (Cic. *Harusp. Resp.* 24).

W. WARDE FOWLER.

SOPHOCLEA.

I.

OEDIPVS TYRANNVS.

THESE notes are written with special reference to Jebb's edition, as having practically superseded every other. In spite of its many and undoubted merits, this edition contains more errors than the general public believes; and if I am compelled by the nature of the case to touch only upon the latter in the following observations, I hope I shall not be supposed to be blind to the former. In such a case one must needs appear to write, as De Quincey has it, 'in a mood of revolting arrogance.'

100. ἀνδρηλατοῦντας ἢ φόνοφ φόνον πάλιν
λύοντας, ὡς τόδ' αἶμα χεϊμάζον πόλιν.

Is not the meaning, 'on the ground that this which plagues the city is blood'? (cf. 241). Something is plaguing it, we all know; Apollo says it is a murder; therefore we must either banish the guilty, or expiate blood with blood.

The ordinary explanation, 'on the ground that this blood is plaguing the city,' labours under two difficulties: *τόδ' αἶμα* is strangely used, and most unnatural, seeing that no particular murder has yet been mentioned, though it is no doubt just possible to say that it is justified by *φόνον* in the preceding line. Secondly, the general sense is very weak. To say 'because this murder vexes the city' throws the emphasis on *χεϊμάζον*; but it is ridiculous for anyone to announce as a novelty from Apollo that the State was labouring under a storm—that was precisely why they asked Apollo for help. Or if you say the emphasis is on 'this murder,' then *this* is meaningless. Mudge saw the absurdity of the common translation, but his *τήνδε* for *τόδ'* is worse than unnecessary.

Two lines back Jebb involves himself in gratuitous difficulties, through refusing the obvious translation of *ἀνέκστον* *τρέφειν*. The *μίασμα* was not incurable, as he has to admit.

186. Παιὰν δὲ λάμπει στονόεσσά τε γῆρυς ὄμανλος.

The pæan would be accompanied by the lyre, the *αὐλὸς* is appropriate to lamentation; *ὄμανλος* includes this idea, being a characteristic Sophoclean compound.

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ἄναυλος Nauck, approved by Blaydes on the ground that 'αὐλοῦ βοή tantum laetae rerum conditioni conuenit.' But I suppose no one will deny that the αὐλός was used at funerals.

205. Jebb strangely insists on taking ἐνδατεῖσθαι as a passive, 'to be distributed, i.e. *showered abroad* on the hostile forces.' Against the other translation '*celebrate*' he objects that ἐνδατεῖσθαι is used in a bad sense in *Trach.* 791, 'blaming,' and in the good sense 'only in *Aesch.* fr. 340.' To which the answer is that ἐνδατεῖσθαι is *never* used by any good author as a passive, and *never* in the sense of being showered abroad, while that of 'distributed' is so wretchedly feeble here that he dare not dwell on it.

220.

οὐ γὰρ ἄν μακρὰν
ἔχνεον αὐτὸς μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.

Am I dreaming, or is not the meaning of this passage clear as daylight? 'I ask for a clue, for I could not have travelled far without one myself (if I had been in Thebes at the time).' The αὐτός is a touch of that self-conceit which appears now and then in Oedipus. ἔχνεον is imperfect because it denotes continued action in the past. μὴ οὐκ ἔχων = εἰ μὴ εἶχον. Of course οὐκ ἄν ἔχνεον cannot imply such a protasis as 'if I had not made such an appeal to you' for a clue, for just consider what that will involve. 'If I had not asked, I should not have gone far,' implies that as it is the speaker *has* gone far. But he has not even started yet, and all his tracking must be done in the future. We should require ἔχνεύοιμι ἄν.

The connection of thought, then, is this: 'If you will listen to me and do something to help (by telling me anything you know), you may get some relief. (Of course without a clue nothing can be done), for I could not have got far if I had not had one myself at the time (still less can I now).'

This view is very similar to Kennedy's, but I do not agree with him in taking ξένος to have anything to do with the citizenship of Oedipus. And he mistranslates μὴ οὐ, as it appears to me.

227.

καί μὲν φοβεῖται, τοῦπικλήμ' ὑπεξελὼν
αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ, πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν
ἄστεργές οὐδέν, γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν ἄβλαβής.

I believe this reading of the MSS. to be perfectly sound. It is a mixture of (1) ἄλλο μὲν πείσεται οὐδέν γῆς δ' ἄπεισιν, and (2) πείσεται γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδέν, γῆς ἄπεισιν, or rather ἀπίτω, but owing to the mixture of constructions ἀπίτω is assimilated to πείσεται. No doubt this is strange enough, but then look at 303: πόλιν μὲν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως οἷα νόσφ' ὄνυσσιν, a mixture of οὐ βλέπεις φρονεῖς δὲ and εἰ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς. *Ani.* 234: καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερω φρίσω δ' ὅμως. *Philostratus, Vit. Apoll.* VII 11: τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μὲν, οὕτω δ' ἡμέραι δέκα, ὥς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφίχθαι.

So practically also Matthiae and Hermann.

430, 1146.

οὐκ εἰς δλεθρον;

This phrase, with the ordinary Attic scansion, would be impossible in tragedy; the lengthening of the second syllable of δλεθρον raises it sufficiently in tone. It is a little thing, but always seems to me a touch very characteristic of the art of Sophocles.

476.

φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίαν
ῥ' ἄν' ἀνὰ τ' ἄντρα καὶ
πέτρας ἰσόταυρος.

This does not in the very least mean that the murderer is wandering in the woods and rocks; for all the Chorus know, he may be in Thebes. It means: 'He wanders about as a bull wanders among woods and rocks.' Cf. *Ajax* 169 for a similar hypallage of the simile and its subject, and the still bolder phrase in *Ajax* 196: ἐχθρῶν δ' ὕβρις ἀτάρβητος ὁρμᾶται ἐν εὐανέμοις βάσσαις. Keats is very audacious in a like manner:

'The moving waters at their priestly task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores.'

483.

δεινὰ μὲν οὖν, δεινὰ παράσσει σοφὸς οἰωνοθέτας,
οὔτε δοκοῦντ' οὔτ' ἀποφάσκονθ'· ὅτι λέξω δ' ἀπορῶ.

The late George Gissing, in a quasi-novel entitled *The Papers of Henry Rycroft*, being discontented with the idea that these lines are choriambic, inasmuch as they are immediately followed by a more definitely Ionic rhythm, proposed that the first syllable of each should be regarded as an anacrusis and the rest scanned as Ionics *a minore*. As usual with choric metres, one can prove nothing definite in any direction, but for myself I feel convinced that the true scansion is as follows in both lines:

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The long syllable equivalent to four morai is a marked feature of this ode, and appears a particularly appropriate beginning, because of the heavy brooding effect it gives. Again, it is almost safe to assume that when Sophocles repeats the same word in a line it will be scanned as of two different values, as is here the case in each line on my hypothesis.

966.

ὦν ὑφηγητῶν ἐγὼ
κτανεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα.

So practically all MSS. κτανεῖν Editors, on the ground that Sophocles never uses the aorist infinitive after μέλλω. Yet I think we ought to keep κτανεῖν here. Many years ago I pointed out in the *Journal of Philology*, No. 41, p. 43, that the aorist after μέλλω is allowed by Plato in a peculiar sense, i.e. when μέλλω δρᾶσαι = δεῖ δρᾶσαι. Here also κτανεῖν ἔμελλον = κτανεῖν ἔδει, 'I was bound to kill' rather than 'I was going to kill.' Or again it may be said here to be equivalent to ἐκτανον ἄν.

If we examine the two great tragedians, we find that they do not use the different tenses quite recklessly. At least, if we can rely on Beatson's *Indices*, Aeschylus has the present when the meaning is *delay* (P. V. 654), the future when μέλλω = I am going to do a thing (P. V. 665, 861, Cho. 858, 866), and τελεῖν should accordingly be regarded as future at *Agam.* 965, and the aorist, μέλλω παθεῖν = δεῖ με παθεῖν, at P. V. 652 (cf. Lucian, *Deorum. Diol.* i 1, ὡν σέ δέῖ παθεῖν). So I should classify them, though the boundary lines are of course hazy and the last-mentioned passage *could* be put under the second head.

Sophocles is a little freer. In the first meaning (*delay*) he uses only the present (O. T. 678, O. C. 1627, Aj. 540, Ph. 1449), but in the second either present (O. C. 1774, Ph. 409, Tr. 758, El. 1486) or future (seven times). Under the third head I should put O. T. 1385, ἐμελλον ὄραν = ἔδει ὄραν, Aj. 443, κρίνειν ἔμelle = ἔδει κρίνειν, and our present passage. Thus he uses both present and aorist in this sense, but there is no clear instance of the future in him.

I only know of one example of the aorist after μέλλω = delay, *Rhesus* 673, τί μέλλετε σᾶσαι βίον;

1071. ιοῦν ἰού, δύστηνε· τοῦτο γάρ σ' ἔχω
μόνον προσειπεῖν, ἄλλο δ' οὐποθ' ὕστερον.

There is a curious parallel to this in the last words spoken by the Man in the Iron Mask in *Le Vicomte de Bragelonne*. 'Call me neither Monsieur nor Monseigneur' it runs as well as I remember; 'appelez-moi MAUDIT.'

1078. φρονεῖ γὰρ ὡς γυνὴ μέγα.

I think the meaning is that Jocasta is eaten up by family pride, as women are apt to be. Everybody must know what absurd importance women often attach to what they call 'good family.' Kennedy objects to a somewhat similar explanation, but does not seem to have considered the line from this point of view.

1155. δύστηνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ;

The nominative δύστηνος, thus used as an exclamation, never, I believe, refers to any but the speaker himself. Consequently it in no way 'points to the coming disclosure,' but is a cry of fear on the parts of the *Therapōn* because of the threat of Oedipus in the preceding line. In 1071 we get the vocative, as we should expect, because Jocasta is there addressing Oedipus. In 1303 we must read for this and other reasons φεῦ, φεῦ, δύστην' (as Jebb does in his final text), which is echoed by φεῦ φεῦ δύστανος ἐγώ in the mouth of Oedipus at 1308. Yet if ὦ be added it *may* be used in reference to others than the speaker, *Ant.* 379.

1247. θάνοι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν δὲ τίκτουσαν λίποι
τοῖς οἰσιν αὐτοῦ δύστεκνον παιδουργίαν.

Jebb is evidently right in saying that these words can only mean 'leaving the mother to breed accursed offspring with his own.' Yet is not παιδουργίαν

for παιδουργὸν well-nigh incredible? I cannot help thinking that Sophocles wrote τῇ δὲ τικτούσῃ, which might be changed into the accusative either by reading τὴν for τῇ accidentally or because of the other dative τοῖς οἰσιν. If this be so, translate 'left to the mother accursed child-bearing to his own children.'

1271. αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ' ὁθύνεκ' οὐκ ὄφειντό νιν
οὐθ' οἷ' ἔπασχεν οὐθ' ὅποι' ἔδρα κακά.

These words are utter nonsense. Oedipus could not say that his eyes should not see in the future the evil things done by him in the past. Hermann was on the right lines when he proposed to read ὄφαινο as an aorist; but the evidence for such an aorist in Attic tragedy is non-existent. It seems to me that Sophocles must have written ἰδοντο, and that this was corrupted in consequence of ὀφείλαθ' in 1274. (αἰσθοντο or ὀσσοιντο are suggested by Kennedy, but ὀσσοιντο is surely as impossible as ὄφαινο itself, and αἰσθοντο is no nearer to ὄφαινο than ἰδοντο, and in every other way inferior.)

1278. ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας
ὄμβρος χάλαζι θ' αἵματοῦσσ' ἐτέγγετο.

This I take to be beyond reasonable doubt the true reading (Porson, and cf. Housman in *Journal of Philology*, No. 39, p. 31). But what is the precise meaning? The 'black rain' is evidently blood, the 'hail' ought to be something different, and it is clear that there would really be something else; the 'vitreous body,' which forms the great bulk of the eye, would ooze out through the rents, something like the white of a raw egg. Being mixed with the blood, it is very accurately described as χάλαζα αἵματοῦσσα. The details are horrible, but Sophocles goes far beyond any other tragedian in his use of physical horror and pain. Who shall say that he is wrong? The dreadful sight revealed by the lifted robe of Heracles in the *Trachiniae* was probably still more horrifying in its effect. It is curious to observe how much more lightly Shakespeare describes the blinding of Gloucester in that hotly-disputed scene of *Lea*r (Act III., Sc. 7), and yet it is too much for most modern critics. It is true that the actual blinding is there done on the stage, but it is evident that it cannot have any but a descriptive effect; the spectators cannot see any real blinding. The 'vile jelly' there corresponds in a way to the χάλαζα of Sophocles.

ὁμοῦ in 1278 means 'mixed together.'

The words φοῖναι γλῆναι in 1276 are an anticipation of this fuller description.

1291. μενῶν δόμοις ἀραῖος ὡς ἡράσατο.

It has long seemed to me that ὡς ἡράσατο is miserably weak, and that Sophocles must have said something far more forcible, something like 'bringing on the house the curses which he had invoked.' ὡς and ὧν

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are often confused, e.g. *Trach.* 715, and see Thompson on Gorgias 492E. (In Plato *Rep.* 390B the best correction would be, I think, ὦν μόνος ἐγρηγόρως ἐβουλεύσατο, τούτων . . .) But then is ἀραίος ὦν ἡράσατο possible? It is certainly difficult, but hardly more so perhaps than κάλλος κακῶν ὑπουλον, where κακῶν depends on the noun involved in ὑπουλον, and so ὦν here would depend on the noun involved in ἀραίος (cf. Aesch. *Sep.* 876). Certainly τυφλὸς τῶν ἄλλων in Xen. *Symp.* iv. 12 looks to me quite as strange, though it is also quite different. Then again in *Philoctetes* 1066 we have οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι προσφθεγκτός, as remarkable a genitive, however we explain it.

In short, I should like to believe that Sophocles here wrote ἀραίος ὦν ἡράσατο, and should be thankful to see it justified.

1348.

ὥς σ' ἠθέλησα μηδ' ἀναγνῶναί ποτε.

(ποτε A. ποτ' ἂν L.). This is impossible, but Hermann's μηδέ γ' ἂν γνῶναι is even worse, as μηδέ γ' is not Greek at all unless μηδέ be a connecting particle. Fancy preferring this to Dobree's μηδαμὰ γνῶναι! But Dobree kept ἂν after ποτε; read rather ἠθέλησ' ἂν μηδαμὰ γνῶναι ποτε, the authority of A. being, to say the least, as good as that of the first hand of L., and the position of ἂν being very unnatural if kept till so late in the sentence (μηδὰμ' ἂν, Wecklein).

II.

TRACHINIAE.

161. εἶπε μὲν λέχους ὅτι . . . εἶπε δ' ἦν.

The relative ἦν in the second clause follows the interrogative ὅτι in the first according to the correct old idiom. There are at least four examples of it (two of them not interrogative however) in Homer:—

Il. ix 392: ὅστις οἷ τ' ἐπέοικε καὶ δὲ βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν.

Il. xv 664: ἡμὲν ὅτφ ζῶουσιν καὶ ᾧ κατατεθνήκασιν.

Od. xvii 363: γνῶνί θ' οὔτινές εἰεν ἐναΐσιμοι οἷ τ' ἀθέμιστοι.

and Od. x 110: ὅστις τῶνδ' εἴη βασιλεὺς καὶ οἷσιν ἀνάσσει, where Aristarchus, apparently not understanding this point, read τοῖσιν; in his favour is the scansion, but I think the long καὶ is justified by the bucolic diaeresis. The same construction is found occasionally in later writers. Thuc. i 137, φράζει ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἃ φεύγει. Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 12, λέγε ὅποσα πρόσσεστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἃ μετιὼν τυγχάνει. Papias *apud* Eusebium, *Hist. Eccl.* iii 39, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί 'Ανδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν . . . ἃ τε 'Αριστιάν καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος 'Ιωάννης . . . λέγουσιν.

I take it that e.g. οὔτινες οἷ τε was originally short for οὔτινες οὔτινές τε, and the use was then extended to ὅστις καὶ οἷσιν, etc. But as both forms of expression were possible, as one could say either φράζει (ἐκεῖνα) δι' ἃ φεύγει or φράζει δι' ἃ τινά, so it is not surprising to find in time the original order inverted.

Soph. *Tr.* 1118, οὐ γὰρ ἂν γνοίης ἐν οἷς . . . κὰν ὅτοις. Porphyry *de Abst.* ii 61, οἶδεν ἂ θυτέον καὶ ὦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τίνα προσεεκτέον καὶ τίνων ἀπαρκτέον.

210. ὁμοῦ δὲ παιᾶνα παιᾶν' ἀνάγερ' ὦ παρθένοι.

It is a trial of faith to scan -ᾶν' ἀνάγερ' here as a first paeon; there is nothing paeonian about this ode. I suspect we should read ἀνάγετε παρθένοι. And if we are to accept ἀνολοιζάτω in 205 the first two lines of the ode should be written perhaps

ἀνολοιζάτω δόμοις
ἐφεστίοισιν ἀλαλαγαῖς.

The arrangement adopted by Jebb from J. H. H. Schmidt is disastrous, as Schmidt's arrangements so often are.

327. ἡ δέ τοι τύχη
κακὴ μὲν αὐτῇ γ' ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει.

So impossible is it to make any sense of this that Jebb is reduced to explaining τύχη to mean the state of Iole's mind. Obviously it can only mean her state of slavery. Nor does any tinkering with αὐτῇ γ' help us. The sense required is, however obvious: 'her condition is no doubt a bad one, but if she maintains an obstinate silence we must make allowances for her'. It is not her misfortune for which anybody can make allowance, it is herself. This sense we can get by reading

κακὴ μὲν ἄλλ' αὐτῇ γε συγγνώμην ἔχει.

The meaning is then very like *O. C.* 1014:

ὁ ξείνος ὦναξ χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ
αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, ἄξια δ' ἀμναθεῖν,

even if we do not there read ἄξιος.

The displacement of μὲν scarcely needs defence; see e.g. line 18 of this play.

419. ἦν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὀρᾶς.

For this use of ὑπὸ compare ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, 'in a hurry.' It is not recognized by Liddell and Scott, but I have seen it a dozen times at least, though the only instance I can at present lay my hand on is *Thuc.* III. 33, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν. This cannot mean 'he pursued because of hurry' but only 'in a hasty way or state of mind,' just as ὑπ' ἀγνοίας means 'in assumed ignorance of mind.' This parallel seems to meet Jebb's objections.

698. ῥεῖ πᾶν ἄδελον καὶ κατέψηκται χθονί,
μορφῇ μάλιστ' εἰκαστὸν ὥστε πρίονος
ἐκβρώματ' ἂν βλέψειας ἐν τομῇ ξύλου.
τοιοῦνδε κείμεν προπετές· ἐκ δὲ γῆς, ὅθεν

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¹ See *Philologie*, t

προὔκειτ', ἀναζέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί,
 γλαυκῆς ὀπώρας ὥστε πίνους ποτοῦ
 χυθέντος εἰς γῆν Βακχίας ἀπ' ἀμπέλων.

Sophocles, who has been truly called the most medical of all great poets,¹ here describes the action of the poison on the wool with which Deianira had anointed the robe of Heracles and upon the soil of the ground where it fell. He was not talking vaguely and 'poetically,' but was full of medical ideas which he treats in a free and truly poetical manner. Hear Galen (Kühn, vol. ii, p. 135) talking of the effects of *black bile* when in a diseased condition: ξύει γε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ζῴου καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη, καὶ τινα μετὰ πομφολύγων οἶον ζύμωσιν τε καὶ ζέσιν ἐργάζεται, σηπεδόνος ἐπικτήτου προσελθούσης ἐκείνῳ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντι χυμῷ τῷ μέλανι. It is impossible to read this without being reminded of the Sophoclean passage, and what adds still further to the coincidence is that Galen a few lines back has written: οἶνον δὲ μοι νοεῖ γλεεύκινον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν σταφυλῶν ἐκτεθλιμμένον ζέοντά τε (filling with gases) καὶ ἀλλοιούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ θερμασίας· ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δύο γεννώμενα περιττώματα (bye-products), τὸ μὲν κουφότερον τε καὶ ἡερωδέστερον τὸ δὲ βαρύτερον τε καὶ γεωδέστερον. To the former of these products he compares the yellow bile, to the latter the black. Turn back to *Trach.* 573, and you will find that the poison was the *black bile* of the hydra.

It is certainly curious to find in both authors black bile (1) compared to fermenting grape juice, (2) corroding the body of a living creature, (3) working in a similar manner upon the earth, (4) bubbling and 'boiling' (which according to Aristotle only means 'aeration of a liquid'). Compare more closely their language. Soph. ψῆ κατ' ἄκρας σπόδιον (688. So Jebb, σπιλάδος MSS. without meaning), and κατέψηκται χθονί, Gal. ξύει τὴν γῆν. Soph. ἀναζέουσι θρομβώδεις ἀφροί (and κέντρ' ἐπιζέσαντα in 840), Gal. μετὰ πομφολύγων ζέσιν. Soph. χυθέντος εἰς γῆν, Gal. τὴν γῆν εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη.

Again Galen (vol. xvi, p. 661) writes: ὅταν τοίνυν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὄξος ἐκχυθῇ δριμύ, πνευματούμενον αὐτίκα, συναναφέρει τινὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς μόρια καὶ γίνεταί τι σύνθετον . . . ὅμοιον δ' αὐτῷ συμβαίνει κάπειδάν καὶ μέλαινα χολὴ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκχυθῇ καὶ σαφῶς γε φαίνεται πνευματώδης τις κίνησις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις γινομένη παραπλησία τῇ κατὰ τὸ ζέον γλεεύκος.

And compare *Trach.* 1053: ἐκ μὲν ἐσχάτας βέβρωκε σάρκας 'with Galen vol. v, p. 111, where, again speaking of black bile, he says: οἷς ὀμιλήσειεν ἂν τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν ἄκρατος, ἔλκοι πάντως αὐτὰ διαβιβρώσκονσα.

It is not likely that Galen was thinking of Sophocles. But he prefaces his remarks in the first passage quoted above by saying that he will explain οἶον τι βούλονται τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι περὶ τὴν τῶν χυμῶν γένεσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμβαίνειν. So he may well have had in mind an ancient traditional manner of speaking on the subject, such as Sophocles too had in mind when he wrote

¹ See e.g. the intensely interesting article by M. Psichari, *Sophocles et Hippocrate*, in *Revue de Philologie*, tom. 32.

the *Trachiniae*. There is nothing so far as I can find in the Hippocratic writings to throw any light upon the matter, but Sophocles was certainly interested in such things; the description of the sufferings of Philoctetes has been warmly praised by medical men. Thucydides a few years later speaks of ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι δοῖν ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὀνομασμέναι εἰσὶν (ii 49).

After much consultation, especially with Dr. Goadby and Prof. Collie, I conclude the scientific facts to be somewhat as follows. A strong acid when poured on the ground will unite with any alkali there may be in it, and produce an effervescence, if the soil be limestone as in Greece. The result will be a 'fizzing' and the formation of a friable substance, which might in some cases be well likened to sawdust, as by Sophocles. 'Black bile' seems to have included a variety of pathological phenomena, some acid, others not; of the former class would be for instance black vomit (see Hippocrates, vol. i, p. 519), and Galen repeatedly ascribes acidity to black bile in general, e.g. vol. xi, p. 675, ἡ μέλαινα δ' ὀξεῖα. But no such acid product as is discharged from any animal body, healthy or diseased, could produce the effects described. Some stronger acids would do so, in particular sulphuric, and sulphuric acid in some form was well known to the Egyptians and the Greeks. By ὄξος then Galen means not 'vinegar' but some mineral acid, probably sulphuric. By some amazing blunder, it seems, this was at some very early date confused with black bile, many mixtures of sulphuric acid and other substances being black, and Galen is simply repeating an old tradition, without having ever attempted to verify the facts. Indeed the impression one gets from Galen's treatise on black bile is that he had no clear idea what was meant by it, and no more has anybody else. But the tradition was there before Sophocles wrote the *Trachiniae*, and lasted on like others through centuries.

It is clear anyhow that the poet's language is thoroughly scientific, and that he does not here describe mere fanciful imaginings of his own. Like Dante and Göthe he is always master of everything he touches according to the lights of his time.

1196.

πολλὸν δ' ἄρσεν' ἐκτεμόνθ' ὁμοῦ
ἀγριον ἔλαιον.

To explain what Sophocles means by the 'male olive' will take a deal of time, but I will cut it down as much as possible. (1) The ancients knew nothing definite about the sexes of plants, for the ascription to Empedocles of any anticipation of the modern doctrine is so light-hearted that I am really ashamed to mention it. But they did know that some palm-trees bear dates and others do not, and called the former female in consequence, the latter male; they knew too that it was advisable to have the male growing near the female if you wish to have dates, and even artificially fertilized the female. They also were in the habit of planting the caprifig near the sweet fig, as men do to this day. 'In Southern Europe the majority of the trees planted are such as have

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female flowers only in their inflorescences, these yielding the best and juiciest figs. Fig-plants of the form known as *Caprificus*, which, besides male flowers, contain only gall-flowers in their inflorescences, are not cultivated, because most of their figs dry up and fall off prematurely. A few specimens of *Caprificus* are reared here and there in order that their inflorescences may be artificially transferred to the branches of the *Ficus*-trees. The process of transference is called *caprification*. . . . At the present day Fig-trees are no longer raised from seed but from cuttings, and caprification is consequently superfluous. Nevertheless the country people persevere with the old custom in spite of their ignorance of its real significance.' (Kerner and Oliver, *Nat. Hist. of Plants*, 1895, vol. ii, p. 162.)

Observe that people go on planting the caprifig along with the sweet fig though it is no sort of use. Compare Aristotle *de Gen. An.* I i 10: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὰ μὲν καρποφόρα δένδρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν συμβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς φέρουσι πρὸς τὸ πέττειν, ὅλον συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν συκὴν (sweet fig) καὶ τὸν ἐρινεόν (caprifig). In fact Aristotle thought that the caprifig was not really 'male' but yet acted somewhat like a male, in that its presence was somehow necessary for the sweet fig to ripen her fruit (which it is not).

(2) The olive as a matter of fact has neither male nor female plants separated from each other, nor yet anything corresponding to an extraordinary phenomena of the caprifig. Every flower of an olive, whether wild or cultivated, contains within itself both stamens and style. Yet the ancients, in their ignorance of the nature of plant-fertilization, had it seems got it into their heads that the domesticated olive was somehow female, because it bears large berries, and the wild a sort of male, because its berries are small and of no use to man. They exaggerated the deficiency of the wild olive; small and useless berries were as good as none at all; for all practical purposes the wild olive was no better than the male palm or the caprifig. Whether they went so far as to plant the wild alongside the tame olive, as the caprifig near the sweet fig, I do not know, but there is a passage in Aristotle which almost looks as if they did. εἰσὶ δὲ τῆς, he says (*de Gen. An.* III v 2), οἳ φασι πάντας εἶναι τοὺς ἰχθὺς θήλεις ἔξω τῶν σελαχῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. Οἰονταὶ γὰρ διαφέρειν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀρρένων τοὺς θήλεις αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τῶν φυτῶν, ἐν ὅσοις τὸ μὲν καρποφορεῖ τὸ δ' ἄκαρπὸν ἐστίν, ὅλον ἐλία καὶ κότινος καὶ συκὴ καὶ ἐρινεός. These zoologists in fact thought that a herring with a hard roe was a true female, but that one with a soft roe was also really female though unproductive of eggs; such a fish νομίζεται ἄρρην but only as a figure of speech; so too the wild olive is considered to be male because it does not bear fruit, but is not really male. And Aristotle is not far from agreeing with them so far as plants go. Taking the two passages from *de Gen. An.* together we can perhaps infer that they did think it advisable to keep wild olives near the cultivated. Anyhow it is plain that in popular opinion the wild was regarded as male.

Palladius (*de Re Rustica*) xi 8 gives us another proof of this on different lines. 'Quod si fructus arbor laeta (the domesticated olive) non afferet, terebretur Gallica terebra usque ad medullam foramine impresso, cui oleastri informis talea uehementer artetur, et ablaqueatae arbori amurca uel uetus urina fundatur. Hoc enim uelut coitu steriles arbores uberantur.' And this is what he means by the couplet xiv. 53:

Fecundat sterilis pingues oleaster oliuas,
Et quae non nouit munera ferre docet.

So did the popular notion that the oleaster was sterile and masculine continue to hold its own, in spite of the fact that Theophrastus knew better. *Hist. Plant.* I vi: πλείω μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τὰ ἄγρια φέρειν ὥσπερ ἀχράς, κότινος, καλλίω δὲ τὰ ἥμερα. Yet Theophrastus too uses 'male' and 'female' absurdly; 'species robustior, et quae tarde fructificat, ἄρρην vocatur, et contra θήλεια. Sexualis uero distinctio occurrit in φοίνικι, et alibi, ii 8', says Stackhouse, *Glossarium Theophrasti* s.v. "Ἀρρην.

(3) Sophocles therefore was adopting this superstition, when he made Heracles demand the 'male and wild olive' for his funeral pyre. The epithets suit the fierce hero to whom the plant was sacred, and whom the most feminine and loveliest of the poet's heroines innocently slew.

ARTHUR PLATT.

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CICERO'S *POST REDITVM* AND OTHER SPEECHES.

THE last volume of Cicero's Orations, as published in the Oxford *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*, was lately entrusted to me, and will be published in the course of the present year. Meanwhile I desire to record in this paper some of the more important results of my study of the MSS., and, following on this, to indicate several places where our current texts seem to be susceptible of correction and improvement.

The basal codex is for these speeches the well-known ninth-century Par. 7,794 (P), a folio of which is reproduced in Chatelain's *Paléographie*, Pl. xxiii. This MS. contains the following orations in chronological order: (1) *pridie quam in Exilium*, (2) *in Senatu*, (3) *ad Quirites*, (4) *de Domo*, (5) *pro Sestio*, (6) *in Vatinius*, (7) *de Provinciis Consularibus*, (8) *de Harusp. Respons.*, (9) *pro Balbo*, (10) *pro Caelio*. It is noteworthy that this order is followed by other MSS. of the same family. The object of this paper is to draw special attention to two of these in their relation to P—viz. the twelfth-century *Bernensis* 136 (B) and the fifteenth-century Par. 14,749, which Mr. A. C. Clark has called Σ. Alongside of Σ the Wolfenbüttel codex 205 (W) is no longer worthy of notice: Mr. Clark has shown that it is derived from Σ (*Anecd. Oxon.* X p. xii). The same is true of Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777. Σ is the parent of them all, and it seems to have been written in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

The criticism of the *Post Reditum* speeches was hampered for a time by Halm's view (after Madvig) that the second hand in P was that of an interpolator. On the contrary, P² represents, as was first shown by Hertz, a genuine tradition, without which the text would be less complete and correct than we have it to-day.¹ In this connexion I need only cite passages where P² has restored omissions accidentally made by the writer of P owing to the occurrence of like-endings: *ad Quir.* § 6 'tum Metelli (aut Metellarum liberi pro Q. Metelli) *reditu*': in *Vatin.* § 36 'quae nunquam (sibi pop. Rom. appetiuit, qui numquam) *ad se*,' etc.: *Sest.* § 93 'causam rei publicae (amplectatur . . . duo illa rei publicae) *paene fata*,' 107 *neque* (sententiam eius auctori-

¹ Halm failed to notice, for example, that it seems to be the same hand that supplied the lacuna in P at *pro Balbo* § 9 which continues the

writing of the text at § 14. This establishes the genuineness of the words rejected by Halm in the earlier section.

tate) *neque*. The indispensable words in brackets have been in each of the above instances supplied by the second hand in P².

Halm divined rather than proved (*Rhein. Mus.* IX p. 321) that the *Bernensis* (B) was a copy of P.¹ Certainly there are very few discrepancies of any importance (for example, *suffragium ferente* B in *Sen.* § 24 for *rente* P is probably a conjecture of the copyist of the *Bernensis*). I mention here an additional proof of direct copying which attracted my attention when I had the opportunity last summer of examining the two codices side by side. A system of punctuation was introduced into P by a later hand, of which the copyist of B takes full advantage, especially in the way of breaking up his text into sentences by the use of capital letters. As P² is a twelfth-century hand, and as the best authorities now ascribe B to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, I think it is a fair inference that the corrections supplied by P², as well as the 'guide to punctuation' already referred to, were made in the Paris MS. before B was copied from P: they may, in fact, have been made for the purposes of the copyist.²

The accepted view that B is copied from P becomes of all the more importance now, as it enables us to establish, as it were, an apostolic succession in the case of three manuscripts, separated from each other by intervals of three centuries. The third in the series is Mr. Clark's Σ (Par. Lat. 14,749). In the account of this codex, given in his volume on the *Vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio (*Anecd. Oxon., Classical Series*, Part X), Mr. Clark inclined to think that, in the *Post Reditum* speeches, Σ was copied directly from P. This is very near the truth, and for practical purposes would be quite sufficient; but as the result of a recent discovery I am able to affirm that Σ was transcribed, so far as concerns the speeches now under consideration, not from P directly, but from P's copy, the *Bernensis*.

It was the courtesy of the librarian at Bern (Professor van Mulinen) that gave me the opportunity last summer of examining B side by side with the Paris MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³ Knowing something of the difficulty of establishing proof of direct copying, I should have hesitated to make any positive statement about the relation of Σ to B, had it not been for the emergence of a curious phenomenon which I propose now to put on record.

In turning over the pages of Σ I happened to notice particularly the passage *Harusp. Resp.* § 5 'non me magis uiolauit quam senatum, quam equites Romanos quam omnes bonos.' This passage occurs on the verso of fol. 91, and my attention was attracted by a short line drawn in the text after the words *uiolauit* and *Romanos*. When I turned to B for some possible explanation

¹ For instance, *de Domo* § 67 for *Quas iste tum P* has *Quas is tetum*, which B makes into *quas is tecum*. But this is not in itself a proof of direct copying.

² The mark of punctuation supplied in P may be seen in the Chatelain facsimile, e.g. before the words *Sed uestrae sapientiae* and *Ex hac copia*

in *pro Caesio* § 24; it occurs also in the addition made by P² at the end of § 23 in the speech *ad Quirites*, before the words *gratiam et qui rettulit*.

³ The *Bernensis* formerly belonged to Bongarsius, in whose handwriting, at the foot of fol. 97b, this note occurs: *huc reg. liber chartaceus in or. de domo sua*.

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I found it—in the shape of a grease-spot! The fourth and fifth lines of fol. 131 in B may be exhibited as under:

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equites romanos		quam omnes bonos quam

An oblong greasy mark caused the copyist to skip a certain portion of the parchment for fear his ink should run. The danger would possibly not be so great now, after 700 years, and even in the fifteenth century it may have been less obvious than it was to the writer in the twelfth. But the point is that the faithful copyist of Σ , to indicate that there is a blank in his original, draws two short lines where the blank occurs. This is indubitable proof of direct copying, for no scribe would have troubled to reproduce two meaningless lines, and these lines will not be found in the other Paris MSS. which are now known to have been derived from Σ —such as Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777.¹

After the above it is of minor importance to chronicle the fact that there are identical marginalia in the two MSS. For example, at *Sest.* § 12 each reproduces the tradition of P, 'sed hoc breve dii cassi m. petrei.' But in the margin each gives the right reading, introduced by the formula 'puto sic' (sed hoc breue dicam: si M. Petrei).

For the constitution of the text of the speeches under consideration, now that the importance of the second hand in P is thoroughly appreciated, that MS. would in itself well-nigh suffice. Of other codd., perhaps the most interesting is the twelfth-century *Gemblacensis* (G), nunc *Bruxellensis* 5345. This manuscript was collated by Baiter, and has been much used by editors, but perhaps not fully understood. For the *de Domo*, a very full account of it has recently been given by D. Serruys (*Revue Belge*, 1900, p. 387), who thinks it represents a quite different tradition from P. To me it seems more probable that G (or its archetype) was copied from a MS. very close to P, but which contained various readings. This is undoubtedly the explanation of *de Dom.* § 47 'Legum scriptor] legum scripturae uel scriptor' G: *ibid.* § 61 'nec omnium hostium] nec communium hostium uel omnium' G: *cp. in Sen.* § 14 'cum stipe uel aethiope': *Sest.* § 29 'cum fratre mihi uel compare cum patre': *Vat.* § 3 'qui et uel quia.'

Another feature about G that seems specially worthy of notice is the large number of passages where the scribe has changed the order of words. As this connects with the study of what I have elsewhere called 'transposition variants' (*Am. J. Phil.* XXVIII, p. 125 sqq.), it may be worth while to enumerate the places here. They make it certain that Mueller has done wrong to accept e.g.

¹ Compare *de Prom. Cons.* § 19, where the writer of P has made a useless repetition of the text: 'bellum adfectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum sed ita ut.' Instead of deleting the superfluous words, as he does in similar cases elsewhere, P² has written in the letters *ta* above

the latter part of the word *confectum*. (The alternative reading meant to be suggested may have been *confiatum*.) B reproduces exactly, except that it gives *confectatum*. Σ , on the other hand, saw that there was something wrong, and after copying as far as *confectatum*, relegated the rest (*uidemus . . . confectum*) to the margin.

the variant *se dicat* at *de Domo* § 105 on the authority of GVM instead of *dicat se*. To facilitate reference I shall cite the pages of Mueller's edition, giving only, in order to save space, the reading of G, which will be found in every case to be an inversion of the order in the received text, as vouched for by PBΣ et rell.

post reditum in Senatu :

§ 2 (p. 430, 9) est et infinitum : § 3 (p. 430, 28) potestas decernendi : § 4 (p. 431, 13 and 15) salutem meam and uirtute et praestantissima : § 9 (p. 433, 3) in me conseruando fuerit : § 22 (p. 438, 23 and 31) sibi cara mea and tota mea : § 31 and § 32 (p. 442, 19 and 31) mutata ueste and desereret non modo.

post red. ad Quirites :

§ 3 (p. 447, 28) magis quam fruendo intellexi : § 12 (p. 451, 5) res confecta : § 16 (p. 453, 5) uos primum.

de Domo :

§ 3 (p. 458, 26) habiturum esse : § 9 (p. 461, 9) sit allata : § 10 (p. 461, 18) quid reprehendatur quoniam princeps ego, etc. : § 36 (p. 471, 10) iure pontificio : § 40 (p. 472, 24) breuiter nunc : § 41 (p. 473, 5) diei sexta : § 42 (p. 473, 21 and 23) agere iure and esse rem pub. : § 54 (p. 478, 1) prudentiam modestiamque : § 64 (p. 481, 12) cum summa : § 66 (p. 482, 1) ciuitatis esse : § 68 (p. 482, 28 and 31) sibi dicere and esse nulla : § 72 (p. 484, 9) si est etiam : § 75 (p. 485, 13) sibi redditam : § 79 (486, 34) tum etiam : § 88 (p. 490, 7) tale mihi : § 100 (p. 494, 7) causa mea : § 105 (p. 496, 21) polluit caerimonias : § 110 (p. 498, 6) beneficii populi : § 112 (p. 498, 36) audeat uiolare quisquam : § 118 (p. 501, 5) putanda est : § 121 (p. 502, 6) aditus templi : § 121 (p. 502, 9) tibi dicere : § 122 (p. 502, 15) defenderem iure : § 127 (p. 503, 36) inquit magnum : § 131 (p. 505, 28 and 31) illa res and in curia uolebat : § 134 (p. 507, 9) manu tetigit tremebunda : § 138 (508, 30) iure pontificum : § 141 (p. 510, 6) me seque : § 143 (p. 510, 27 and 32) esse numine and sceleratissimis suis : § 144 (p. 511, 12) illum ignem : § 145 (p. 511, 23) de salute nihil nisi ciuium meorum : § 146 (p. 511, 35) eum quaeso.

de Harusp. Resp. :

§ 7 (p. 517, 3) a praetore tertius : § 26 (p. 525, 16) mentionem generis sui : § 47 (p. 534, 27) in me uno : § 51 (p. 536, 28) gratiae esse : § 53 (p. 537, 10) sunt res : § 55 (p. 537, 34) hominum animis : § 57 (p. 539, 3) non inesset in hoc : § 63 (p. 541, 14) sono aliquid.

pro Sestio :

§ 5 (p. 3, 33) uideatur esse : § 17 (p. 8, 23) appellem nomine : § 20 (p. 9, 35) intueri impendentem : § 23 (p. 10, 31) et conferta plena : § 25 (p. 11, 22) nominatim consulum : § 27 (p. 12, 29) facta uestis : § 31 (p. 14, 19) sui tribunatus uim : § 32 (p. 14, 27) decreuisset de mea salute : § 33 (p. 15, 8) tute tibi : § 35 (p. 16, 12) malis tantis : § 35 (p. 16, 15) die hodierno : § 39 (p. 17, 35) erant omnes : § 40 (p. 18, 21) suaeque—loquebantur *transposed before* tribunum—nolebant : § 41 (p. 18, 26 and 35) causae susceptae and ignari homines : § 44 (p. 19, 32) altera eius modi illa : § 45 (p. 20, 16) me potius ipse : § 46 (p. 20, 22 and 27) unus deditus essem and suum aliquem : § 55 (p. 25, 10) adprobantibus etiam : § 58 (p. 26, 17) illum magnum : § 59 (p. 27, 2 and 4) semper socius, semper amicus and nostros allata : § 62 (p. 28, 12) dicere mihi : § 63 (p. 28, 26) in p. r. : § 64 (p. 28, 35) liberae ciuitates : § 72 (p. 32, 6) p. r. : § 76 (p. 33, 35) fortissimum que mei : § 78 (p. 34, 31 and 37) ferri de me and p. r. : § 82 (p. 36, 17) illi ipsi : § 88 (p. 39, 22) re se : § 91 (p. 40, 24) appellamus publicas : § 96 (p. 42, 27) esse uolebant : § 104 (p. 46, 8) audire uelle : § 110 (p. 48, 19 and 21) non ille and bonum et fortem : § 112 (p. 49, 5) illis furias : § 122 (p. 53, 15) dici posse : § 129 (p. 56, 22) ex municipiis qui : § 144 (p. 63, 26) fratris mei :

On the other hand, it may be recorded here that at § 67 (p. 30, 4) I find the reading 'gentes qui feras' (hitherto attributed to G) also in PBS.

in *Vatinium*:

§ 4 (p. 66, 30) esse fas: § 10 (p. 69, 9) bonis horum: § 18 (72, 7) non duobus: § 21 (p. 73, 6) de re pub. bene: § 30 (p. 76, 33) cum summis uiris commune: § 33 (p. 77, 24) illud etiam: § 34 (p. 78, 22) uelles utrum: § 37 (p. 79, 22) legem esse: § 41 (p. 81, 8) uterque reus.

de *Prov. Cons.*

§ 1 (p. 115, 4) hoc quod: § 15 (p. 120, 27 and 31) hoc sane and Gabini audacia: § 18 (p. 121, 18) uir optimus me: § 30 (p. 125, 34) alia omnia: § 32 (p. 126, 24) liberata metu: § 33 (p. 126, 31) domuit compulit: § 41 (p. 130, 6 and 24) iudicium gratum mihi and generum suum: § 43 (p. 131, 16) tempus tristissimum.

pro *Balbo*:

§ 4 (p. 136, 2) ex uoluptatis: § 19 (p. 141, 14) potius (totius) causae: § 20 (p. 141, 32 and 34) fuit in ea and populi socii: § 24 (p. 143, 9) donatos esse: § 28 (p. 144, 28) homine libertino: § 33 (p. 146, 32) nihil esse: § 37 (p. 148, 24) uelit esse saluam: § 51 (p. 151, 36) non re: § 58 (p. 156, 34) malis nostris: § 65 (p. 159, 22) fixum iudices.

Such inversions as the above constitute a serious impeachment of the fides of G. Whether they are to be credited to the writer of G or to some previous copyist, they seem to confirm the view that the systematic adoption of such 'transposition variants' originated in a writer's desire to give some individuality to his work. In some cases the change may have been motivated by considerations of rhythm. In others the remarkable feature is that the inversion produces nonsense.

The following are passages taken from the *de Domo* alone in which the reading of G differentiates that MS. from P, and is generally found repeated in later codd. of the same group (notably M and V):

§ 7 (p. 460, 8 and 13) tela illa (for te iam illinc) and res illa: § 16 (463, 37) in ea re ratio: § 22 (p. 465, 34) ut praetor (for uteretur): § 40 (p. 472, 51) a. D. oppio: § 44 (p. 474, 15) inuidiosorum: § 81 (p. 487, 26) ornatissimis: § 86 (p. 489, 11) incitatum iracundiamque: § 88 (p. 490, 7) profectionem notam esse tamen is qui: § 101 (p. 494, 21) om. adsensu: § 121 (p. 502, 7) nemo uit qua tenuit for nemo umquam tenuit: § 126 (p. 503, 35) tota est effecisti: § 127 (p. 504, 11) quē te unius u plebis (for quae uetet in iussu pl.): § 131 (p. 506, 25) om. ordines omnes: § 139 (p. 509, 2) cum meus:

More valuable than any codex of the G group I have found the second *Bernensis* (254), which I call f. This MS. formerly belonged to Notre Dame, to which it was presented by Jean Courtecuisse, Chancellor of the University of Paris in 1418, and Bishop of Paris in 1420. I shall only say of it here that it shows a strong agreement with the *codex Stephani*, and that I have found in it anticipations of valuable emendations by later scholars (e.g. *de Dom.* § 16 in ea re necne ratio, a correction hitherto attributed to Garatoni, and *ibid.* § 120 pontifex et tribunus, as was conjectured by Baiter).

I now proceed to append some notes on controverted passages:

In *Sen.* § 12 fecitque, quod nemo umquam tyrannus, ut quo minus occulte

uestrum malum gemeretis nihil diceret, ne aperte incommoda patriae lugeretur ediceret.

On the absence or insertion of a comma after *fecitque* must depend our interpretation of the syntax of the above. Is *quod* a direct accusative after *fecit* (= *id quod*), or is it in apposition with the rest of the sentence? This interesting point will be discussed in connexion with a parallel passage, *Vat.* § 1: it is referred to here only to illustrate the importance of the punctuation of our Latin texts. Mueller obelizes *nihil diceret*, whereas Madvig rejected all the words that follow, which are omitted in P and supplied by P². The grammar and rhythm of the text might perhaps be improved by reading *nihil diceret* (*impedire*) *ne aperte . . . ediceret*. But there is something crude in the antithesis *occulte*—*aperte*, and *gemeretis*—*lugeretur*, to say nothing of *diceret*, *ediceret*. On the whole, it seems not unlikely that the words *quo minus*—*nihil diceret* should go out.¹ They have the look of an adscript supplied by someone who remembered the passage in *Pis.* § 18 'maerorem relinquis: maeroris aufers insignia.' Cp. *Sest.* XIV.

ad Quir. § 1 ut quod odium . . . iam diu continerent, id in me uno potius quam in optimo quoque et uniuerſa ciuitate † deficeret.

Here Hotoman suggested *defigerent*, which might stand. But what is wanted is some word with the idea of *saturarent*; and remembering how the codd. sometimes interchange *de* and *ex*, I am inclined to think that *deficeret* may have taken the place of *expleretur*.

ibid. § 19 for *ideo manet* read *id adeo manet*. This emendation has suggested itself also to Dr. K. Busche, of Leer, Ostfriesland, who has kindly placed at my disposal some critical notes on the *Post Reditum* speeches, of which I hope to avail myself for the purposes of my forthcoming edition. At the end of § 20 he suggests *ego qua consueui utar* (*aequitate*); I propose *oratione* as more suitable to the context.

ibid. § 23 *Postremo qui in ulciscendo remissior fuit † in eorum aperte utitur*.

Conjectures here are numerous. Perhaps in *eo consilium aperte laudatur* would give a suitable antithesis to what follows—at *grauissime uituperatur qui*, etc.

de Domo § 21.

In the very difficult passage occurring in this section, it should be pointed out that the pluperfects *produxeras*—*subduxeras* are not in line with those which follow, *obiceras*—*dixeras*. The latter—not the former—are naturally taken up by the closing interrogation *ad hunc honorem . . . detulisti*? Possibly there has been an omission ex homoeoteleuto, and the original text may have run somehow as follows:

'Atque in hoc solum inconstantiam redarguo tuam qui in ipso Catone (uirum elegeris cuius in tali re firmitas et fides omnibus possent probari. Sed quid tibi cum Catone).'

¹ The construction is not really improved by the more usual *qua re hoc ita sit, nihil dico* (*Dom.*) *Lehmann's nihil diceret <esse quod obstaret>*: it § 84; *Mil.* § 30). must have been intended to follow the lines of

ibid. § 62 Mueller here prints the reading of P, without emendation: † *senatus consules uocabant*. From this it is easy to pass, with recent editors, to *senatum consules uocabant* (e.g. *Sest.* § 41). But this does not help the sense of the passage. Cicero is here speaking of Piso and Gabinius, and he means to be contemptuous, as usual. Read *scilicet consules uocabant*, or *scil. eos consules (cos.) uocabant*. He wishes to imply that they did not deserve the name of consuls. Cp. *Vat.* § 18 'duobus non consulibus sed proditoribus huius ciuitatis ac pestibus': *Pis.* §§ 23, 24 'tum Romae fuisse consules quisquam existimabit? Qui latrones igitur si quidem uos consules . . . nominabuntur?'

ibid. § 68 ui, armis discriptione hominum ad caedem instituta nouoque dominatu pulsum esse dixit.

This is Mueller's reading, but it cannot stand. The codd. have *dissensione*, and also, instead of *ad*, *aut* P¹ and *et* P² rell. Why not *dissensione hominum et caede instituta*?

ibid. § 80 ea iura sanxerunt quae nec uis temporum nec potentia magistratuum nec res tum iudicata nec denique uniuersi populi Romani potestas . . . labefactare possit.

For *res tum iudicata* Madvig suggested *rerum iudicatarum auctoritas*, and this has been adopted by Mueller. A simpler interpretation of the corruption of the MSS. would be *practorum decreta*. For the confusion of *iudicium* and *decretum* (probably due to like contractions) cp. Balb. § 11.

§ 107 nec est ulla erga deos pietas sine honesta de numine eorum ac mente opinione, ut expeti nihil ab iis, quod sit iniustum atque inhonestum, fas esse arbitrere.

I give this interesting passage as it appears in Mueller's text: the words *fas esse* are supplied by him, the codd. giving *cum expeti . . . inhonestum arbitrare*. Accepting *ut . . . arbitrere*, it would be simpler to suppose that the words *iustum aut honestum* (instead of *fas esse*) have fallen out after *iniustum atque inhonestum*. In the earlier part of the sentence *sine—opinione* comes from Halm: most MSS. give *si—opinio*. But in place of *si* I find *nisi* in f (Bern. 254), which suggests that the true reading may be *nisi sit honesta—opinio*. *pro Sestio*. (Cp. *Class. Quart.* III p. 266 sqq.)

§ 72 quem homines in luctu inridentes Gracchum uocabant, quoniam id etiam fatum ciuitatis fuit ut illa ex uepreculis extracta nitedula rem publicam conaretur adrodere.

The point of the joke seems to be contained in the name *Gracchum*, but it has not been satisfactorily explained. As the reference obviously is to 'gnawing' or 'nibbling,' perhaps we ought to read *Grrr. . . acchum*.

ibid. § 89 Et uinci turpe putauit et deterreri et latere: perfecit ut, etc.

Here Mueller follows Madvig. After *deterreri* P¹ and G give the unintelligible *etiam eripere cicit (elegit G) ut*: while P² and the rest have *etiam eripi reecit ut*. There are numerous emendations to which I may be allowed to add *et clam eripi: id egit ut, etc.*

in Vat. § 1 Si tua tantum modo, Vatini, quid indignitas postularet

Soph. *Tr.* 1118, οὐ γὰρ ἂν γνοίης ἐν οἷς . . . κὰν ὅτοις. Porphyry *de Abst.* ii 61, οἶδεν ἂ θυτέον καὶ ὦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τίνα προσευεκτέον καὶ τίνων ἀπαρκτέον.

210. ὁμοῦ δὲ παιᾶνα παιᾶν' ἀνάγεται' ὦ παρθένοι.

It is a trial of faith to scan -ᾶν' ἀνάγεται' here as a first paeon; there is nothing paeonian about this ode. I suspect we should read ἀνάγετε παρθένοι. And if we are to accept ἀνολοιζάτω in 205 the first two lines of the ode should be written perhaps

ἀνγολοιζάτω δόμοις
ἐφειστίοισιν ἀλαλαγαῖς.

The arrangement adopted by Jebb from J. H. H. Schmidt is disastrous, as Schmidt's arrangements so often are.

327. ἡ δέ τοι τύχη
κακὴ μὲν αὐτῇ γ' ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει.

So impossible is it to make any sense of this that Jebb is reduced to explaining τύχη to mean the state of Iole's mind. Obviously it can only mean her state of slavery. Nor does any tinkering with αὐτῇ γ' help us. The sense required is, however obvious: 'her condition is no doubt a bad one, but if she maintains an obstinate silence we must make allowances for her'. It is not her misfortune for which anybody can make allowance, it is herself. This sense we can get by reading

κακὴ μὲν ἀλλ' αὐτῇ γ' ἐ συγγνώμην ἔχει.

The meaning is then very like *O. C.* 1014:

ὁ ξείνος ὄναξ χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ
αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, αἷξαι δ' ἀμυναθεῖν,

even if we do not there read αἷξιος.

The displacement of μὲν scarcely needs defence; see e.g. line 18 of this play.

419. ἦν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὀρᾶς.

For this use of ὑπὸ compare ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, 'in a hurry.' It is not recognized by Liddell and Scott, but I have seen it a dozen times at least, though the only instance I can at present lay my hand on is *Thuc.* III. 33, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποieiτο τὴν διώξιν. This cannot mean 'he pursued because of hurry' but only 'in a hasty way or state of mind,' just as ὑπ' ἀγνοίας means 'in assumed ignorance of mind.' This parallel seems to meet Jebb's objections.

698. ρεῖ πᾶν ἄδηλον καὶ κατέψηκται χθονί,
μορφῇ μάλιστ' εἰκαστὸν ὥστε πρίονος
ἐκβρώματ' ἂν βλέψειας ἐν τομῇ ξύλου.
τοιόνδε κείται προπετές· ἐκ δὲ γῆς, ὅθεν

Sophocles here describes anointed the He was no which he t vol. ii, p. 1. ξύει γε τὸ πομφολύγων θούσης ἐκεί this without further to t μοι νόει γλε with gases) μεταβολὴν ἀερωδέστερο products h *Trach.* 573.

It is c fermenting in a similar ing to Aris their langu without me θρομβώδεις Soph. *χυθῆ*

Again δριμύ, πνευ τι σύνθετοι τῆς γῆς ἐκ γινόμενην πε And c vol. v, p. 1 τοῦ σώματος It is his remark ολόν τι βοι συμβαίνειν of speaking

¹ See e.g. *Philologie*, tom

προῦκειτ', ἀναξέουσι θρομβώδεϊς ἀφροί,
 γλαυκῆς ὁπώρας ὥστε πίνους ποτοῦ
 χυθέντος εἰς γῆν Βακχίας ἀπ' ἀμπέλου.

Sophocles, who has been truly called the most medical of all great poets,¹ here describes the action of the poison on the wool with which Deianira had anointed the robe of Heracles and upon the soil of the ground where it fell. He was not talking vaguely and 'poetically,' but was full of medical ideas which he treats in a free and truly poetical manner. Hear Galen (Kühn, vol. ii, p. 135) talking of the effects of *black bile* when in a diseased condition: ξύει γε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ζῴου καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη, καὶ τινα μετὰ πομφολύγων οἶον ζύωσιν τε καὶ ζέσιν ἐργάζεται, σηπεδόνος ἐπικτήτου προσελθούσης ἐκείνῳ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντι χυμῷ τῷ μέλανι. It is impossible to read this without being reminded of the Sophoclean passage, and what adds still further to the coincidence is that Galen a few lines back has written: οἶνον δὲ μοι νόει γλεύκινον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν σταφυλῶν ἐκτεθλιμμένον ζέοντά τε (filling with gases) καὶ ἀλλοιούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ θερμασίας· ἐπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δύο γεννώμενα περιττώματα (bye-products), τὸ μὲν κουφότερον τε καὶ ἀεροδέστερον τὸ δὲ βαρύτερον τε καὶ γεωδέστερον. To the former of these products he compares the yellow bile, to the latter the black. Turn back to *Trach.* 573, and you will find that the poison was the *black bile* of the hydra.

It is certainly curious to find in both authors black bile (1) compared to fermenting grape juice, (2) corroding the body of a living creature, (3) working in a similar manner upon the earth, (4) bubbling and 'boiling' (which according to Aristotle only means 'aeration of a liquid'). Compare more closely their language. Soph. ψῆ κατ' ἄκρας σπόδιον (688, So Jebb, σπιλάδος MSS. without meaning), and κατέψηκται χθονί, Gal. ξύει τὴν γῆν. Soph. ἀναξέουσι θρομβώδεϊς ἀφροί (and κέντρ' ἐπιζέσαντα in 840), Gal. μετὰ πομφολύγων ζέσιν. Soph. χυθέντος εἰς γῆν, Gal. τὴν γῆν εἰ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐκχυθείη.

Again Galen (vol. xvi, p. 661) writes: ὅταν τοίνυν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὄξος ἐκχυθῇ δριμύ, πνευματούμενον αὐτίκα, συναναφέρει τινὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς μόρια καὶ γίνεται τι σύνθετον . . . ὅμοιον δ' αὐτῷ συμβαίνει κάπειδάν καὶ μέλαινα χολὴ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκχυθῇ καὶ σαφῶς γε φαίνεται πνευματώδης τις κίνησις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις γινομένη παραπλησία τῇ κατὰ τὸ ζέον γλεύκος.

And compare *Trach.* 1053: ἐκ μὲν ἐσχάτας βέβρωκε σάρκας 'with Galen vol. v, p. 111, where, again speaking of black bile, he says: οἷς ὁμιλήσειεν ἂν τοῦ σώματος μέρεσιν ἄκρατος, ἑλκοὶ πάντως αὐτὰ διαβιβρώσκουσα.

It is not likely that Galen was thinking of Sophocles. But he prefaces his remarks in the first passage quoted above by saying that he will explain οἶον τι βούλονται τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι περὶ τὴν τῶν χυμῶν γένεσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συμβαίνειν. So he may well have had in mind an ancient traditional manner of speaking on the subject, such as Sophocles too had in mind when he wrote

¹ See e.g. the intensely interesting article by M. Psichari, *Sophocle et Hippocrate*, in *Revue de Philologie*, tom. 32.

the *Trachinae*. There is nothing so far as I can find in the Hippocratic writings to throw any light upon the matter, but Sophocles was certainly interested in such things; the description of the sufferings of Philoctetes has been warmly praised by medical men. Thucydides a few years later speaks of ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἱατρῶν ὀνομασμέναι εἰσὶν (ii 49).

After much consultation, especially with Dr. Goadby and Prof. Collie, I conclude the scientific facts to be somewhat as follows. A strong acid when poured on the ground will unite with any alkali there may be in it, and produce an effervescence, if the soil be limestone as in Greece. The result will be a 'fizzing' and the formation of a friable substance, which might in some cases be well likened to sawdust, as by Sophocles. 'Black bile' seems to have included a variety of pathological phenomena, some acid, others not; of the former class would be for instance black vomit (see Hippocrates, vol. i, p. 519), and Galen repeatedly ascribes acidity to black bile in general, e.g. vol. xi, p. 675, ἡ μέλαινα δ' ὀξεῖα. But no such acid product as is discharged from any animal body, healthy or diseased, could produce the effects described. Some stronger acids would do so, in particular sulphuric, and sulphuric acid in some form was well known to the Egyptians and the Greeks. By ὄξος then Galen means not 'vinegar' but some mineral acid, probably sulphuric. By some amazing blunder, it seems, this was at some very early date confused with black bile, many mixtures of sulphuric acid and other substances being black, and Galen is simply repeating an old tradition, without having ever attempted to verify the facts. Indeed the impression one gets from Galen's treatise on black bile is that he had no clear idea what was meant by it, and no more has anybody else. But the tradition was there before Sophocles wrote the *Trachinae*, and lasted on like others through centuries.

It is clear anyhow that the poet's language is thoroughly scientific, and that he does not here describe mere fanciful imaginings of his own. Like Dante and Göthe he is always master of everything he touches according to the lights of his time.

1196.

πολλὸν δ' ἄρσεν' ἐκτεμόνθ' ὁμοῦ
ἄγριον ἔλαιον.

To explain what Sophocles means by the 'male olive' will take a deal of time, but I will cut it down as much as possible. (1) The ancients knew nothing definite about the sexes of plants, for the ascription to Empedocles of any anticipation of the modern doctrine is so light-hearted that I am really ashamed to mention it. But they did know that some palm-trees bear dates and others do not, and called the former female in consequence, the latter male; they knew too that it was advisable to have the male growing near the female if you wish to have dates, and even artificially fertilized the female. They also were in the habit of planting the caprifig near the sweet fig, as men do to this day. 'In Southern Europe the majority of the trees planted are such as have

female flower
figs. Fig-pla
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Hist. of Plant

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female flowers only in their inflorescences, these yielding the best and juiciest figs. Fig-plants of the form known as *Caprificus*, which, besides male flowers, contain only gall-flowers in their inflorescences, are not cultivated, because most of their figs dry up and fall off prematurely. A few specimens of *Caprificus* are reared here and there in order that their inflorescences may be artificially transferred to the branches of the *Ficus*-trees. The process of transference is called *caprification*. . . . At the present day Fig-trees are no longer raised from seed but from cuttings, and caprification is consequently superfluous. Nevertheless the country people persevere with the old custom in spite of their ignorance of its real significance.' (Kerner and Oliver, *Nat. Hist. of Plants*, 1895, vol. ii, p. 162.)

Observe that people go on planting the caprifig along with the sweet fig though it is no sort of use. Compare Aristotle *de Gen. An.* I i 10: καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὰ μὲν καρποφόρα δένδρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν συμβάλλεται δὲ τοῖς φέρουσι πρὸς τὸ πέττειν, ὅλον συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν συκὴν (sweet fig) καὶ τὸν ἐρινεόν (caprifig). In fact Aristotle thought that the caprifig was not really 'male' but yet acted somewhat like a male, in that its presence was somehow necessary for the sweet fig to ripen her fruit (which it is not).

(2) The olive as a matter of fact has neither male nor female plants separated from each other, nor yet anything corresponding to an extraordinary phenomena of the caprifig. Every flower of an olive, whether wild or cultivated, contains within itself both stamens and style. Yet the ancients, in their ignorance of the nature of plant-fertilization, had it seems got it into their heads that the domesticated olive was somehow female, because it bears large berries, and the wild a sort of male, because its berries are small and of no use to man. They exaggerated the deficiency of the wild olive; small and useless berries were as good as none at all; for all practical purposes the wild olive was no better than the male palm or the caprifig. Whether they went so far as to plant the wild alongside the tame olive, as the caprifig near the sweet fig, I do not know, but there is a passage in Aristotle which almost looks as if they did. εἰσὶ δὲ τῆς, he says (*de Gen. An.* III v 2), οἳ φασι πάντας εἶναι τοὺς ἰχθύς θήλεις ἔξω τῶν σελαχῶν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. Οἴονται γὰρ διαφέρειν τῶν νομιζομένων ἄρρενων τοὺς θήλεις αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τῶν φυτῶν, ἐν ὅσοις τὸ μὲν καρποφορεῖ τὸ δ' ἄκαρπὸν ἐστίν, ὅλον ἐλάα καὶ κότινος καὶ συκὴ καὶ ἐρινεός. These zoologists in fact thought that a herring with a hard roe was a true female, but that one with a soft roe was also really female though unproductive of eggs; such a fish νομίζεται ἄρρην but only as a figure of speech; so too the wild olive is considered to be male because it does not bear fruit, but is not really male. And Aristotle is not far from agreeing with them so far as plants go. Taking the two passages from *de Gen. An.* together we can perhaps infer that they did think it advisable to keep wild olives near the cultivated. Anyhow it is plain that in popular opinion the wild was regarded as male.

Palladius (*de Re Rustica*) xi 8 gives us another proof of this on different lines. 'Quod si fructus arbor laeta (the domesticated olive) non afferet, terebretur Gallica terebra usque ad medullam foramine impresso, cui oleastri informis talea uehementer artetur, et ablaqueatae arbori amurca uel uetus urina fundatur. Hoc enim uelut coitu steriles arbores uberantur.' And this is what he means by the couplet xiv. 53:

Fecundat sterilis pingues oleaster oliuas,
Et quae non nouit munera ferre docet.

So did the popular notion that the oleaster was sterile and masculine continue to hold its own, in spite of the fact that Theophrastus knew better. *Hist. Plant.* I vi: πλείω μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τὰ ἄγρια φέρειν ὥσπερ ἀχράς, κότινος, καλλίω δὲ τὰ ἥμερα. Yet Theophrastus too uses 'male' and 'female' absurdly; 'species robustior, et quae tarde fructificat, ἄρην vocatur, et contra θήλεια. Sexualis vero distinctio occurrit in φοίνικι, et alibi, ii 8', says Stackhouse, *Glossarium Theophrasti* s.v. Ἄρην.

(3) Sophocles therefore was adopting this superstition, when he made Heracles demand the 'male and wild olive' for his funeral pyre. The epithets suit the fierce hero to whom the plant was sacred, and whom the most feminine and loveliest of the poet's heroines innocently slew.

ARTHUR PLATT.

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CICERO'S *POST REDITVM* AND OTHER SPEECHES.

THE last volume of Cicero's Orations, as published in the Oxford *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum*, was lately entrusted to me, and will be published in the course of the present year. Meanwhile I desire to record in this paper some of the more important results of my study of the MSS., and, following on this, to indicate several places where our current texts seem to be susceptible of correction and improvement.

The basal codex is for these speeches the well-known ninth-century Par. 7,794 (P), a folio of which is reproduced in Chatelain's *Paléographie*, Pl. xxiii. This MS. contains the following orations in chronological order: (1) *pro Clodio*, (2) *in Senatu*, (3) *ad Quirites*, (4) *de Domo*, (5) *pro Sestio*, (6) *in Vatinius*, (7) *de Provinciis Consularibus*, (8) *de Harusp. Respons.*, (9) *pro Balbo*, (10) *pro Caelio*. It is noteworthy that this order is followed by other MSS. of the same family. The object of this paper is to draw special attention to two of these in their relation to P—viz. the twelfth-century *Bernensis* 136 (B) and the fifteenth-century Par. 14,749, which Mr. A. C. Clark has called Σ. Alongside of Σ the Wolfenbüttel codex 205 (W) is no longer worthy of notice: Mr. Clark has shown that it is derived from Σ (*Anecd. Oxon.* X p. xii). The same is true of Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777. Σ is the parent of them all, and it seems to have been written in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

The criticism of the *Post Reditum* speeches was hampered for a time by Halm's view (after Madvig) that the second hand in P was that of an interpolator. On the contrary, P² represents, as was first shown by Hertz, a genuine tradition, without which the text would be less complete and correct than we have it to-day.¹ In this connexion I need only cite passages where P² has restored omissions accidentally made by the writer of P owing to the occurrence of like-endings: *ad Quir.* § 6 'tum Metelli (aut Metellarum liberi pro Q. Metelli) reditu': in *Vatin.* § 36 'quae numquam (sibi pop. Rom. appetiuit, qui numquam) ad se,' etc.: *Sest.* § 93 'causam rei publicae (amplectatur . . . duo illa rei publicae) paene fata,' 107 *neque* (sententiam eius auctori-

¹ Halm failed to notice, for example, that it seems to be the same hand that supplied the lacuna in P at *pro Balbo* § 9 which continues the

writing of the text at § 14. This establishes the genuineness of the words rejected by Halm in the earlier section.

tate) *neque*. The indispensable words in brackets have been in each of the above instances supplied by the second hand in P(P²).

Halm divined rather than proved (*Rhein. Mus.* IX p. 321) that the *Bernensis* (B) was a copy of P.¹ Certainly there are very few discrepancies of any importance (for example, *suffragium ferente* B in *Sen.* § 24 for *rente* P is probably a conjecture of the copyist of the *Bernensis*). I mention here an additional proof of direct copying which attracted my attention when I had the opportunity last summer of examining the two codices side by side. A system of punctuation was introduced into P by a later hand, of which the copyist of B takes full advantage, especially in the way of breaking up his text into sentences by the use of capital letters. As P² is a twelfth-century hand, and as the best authorities now ascribe B to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, I think it is a fair inference that the corrections supplied by P², as well as the 'guide to punctuation' already referred to, were made in the Paris MS. before B was copied from P: they may, in fact, have been made for the purposes of the copyist.²

The accepted view that B is copied from P becomes of all the more importance now, as it enables us to establish, as it were, an apostolic succession in the case of three manuscripts, separated from each other by intervals of three centuries. The third in the series is Mr. Clark's Σ (*Par. Lat.* 14,749). In the account of this codex, given in his volume on the *Vetus Cluniacensis* of Poggio (*Anecd. Oxon., Classical Series*, Part X), Mr. Clark inclined to think that, in the Post Reditum speeches, Σ was copied directly from P. This is very near the truth, and for practical purposes would be quite sufficient; but as the result of a recent discovery I am able to affirm that Σ was transcribed, so far as concerns the speeches now under consideration, not from P directly, but from P's copy, the *Bernensis*.

It was the courtesy of the librarian at Bern (Professor van Mulinen) that gave me the opportunity last summer of examining B side by side with the Paris MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³ Knowing something of the difficulty of establishing proof of direct copying, I should have hesitated to make any positive statement about the relation of Σ to B, had it not been for the emergence of a curious phenomenon which I propose now to put on record.

In turning over the pages of Σ I happened to notice particularly the passage *Harusp. Resp.* § 5 'non me magis uiolauit quam senatum, quam equites Romanos quam omnes bonos.' This passage occurs on the verso of fol. 91, and my attention was attracted by a short line drawn in the text after the words *uiolauit* and *Romanos*. When I turned to B for some possible explanation

¹ For instance, *de Domo* § 67 for *Quas iste tum* P has *Quas is tetum*, which B makes into *quas is tecum*. But this is not in itself a proof of direct copying.

² The mark of punctuation supplied in P may be seen in the Chatelain facsimile, e.g. before the words *Sed uestrae sapientiae* and *Ex hac copia*

in *pro Caesio* § 24; it occurs also in the addition made by P² at the end of § 23 in the speech *ad Quirites*, before the words *gratiam et qui restulit*.

³ The *Bernensis* formerly belonged to Bongarsius, in whose handwriting, at the foot of fol. 97b, this note occurs: *huc reg. liber chartaceus in or. de domo sua*.

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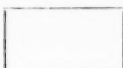
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I found it—in the shape of a grease-spot! The fourth and fifth lines of fol. 131 in B may be exhibited as under:

magis uiolauit
equites romanos



quam senatum quam
quam omnes bonos quam

An oblong greasy mark caused the copyist to skip a certain portion of the parchment for fear his ink should run. The danger would possibly not be so great now, after 700 years, and even in the fifteenth century it may have been less obvious than it was to the writer in the twelfth. But the point is that the faithful copyist of Σ , to indicate that there is a blank in his original, draws two short lines where the blank occurs. This is indubitable proof of direct copying, for no scribe would have troubled to reproduce two meaningless lines, and these lines will not be found in the other Paris MSS. which are now known to have been derived from Σ —such as Par. 6,369 and Par. 7,777.¹

After the above it is of minor importance to chronicle the fact that there are identical marginalia in the two MSS. For example, at *Sest.* § 12 each reproduces the tradition of P, 'sed hoc breve dii cassi m. petrei.' But in the margin each gives the right reading, introduced by the formula 'puto sic' (sed hoc breue dicam: si M. Petrei).

For the constitution of the text of the speeches under consideration, now that the importance of the second hand in P is thoroughly appreciated, that MS. would in itself well-nigh suffice. Of other codd., perhaps the most interesting is the twelfth-century *Gemblacensis* (G), nunc *Bruxellensis* 5345. This manuscript was collated by Baiter, and has been much used by editors, but perhaps not fully understood. For the *de Domo*, a very full account of it has recently been given by D. Serruys (*Revue Belge*, 1900, p. 387), who thinks it represents a quite different tradition from P. To me it seems more probable that G (or its archetype) was copied from a MS. very close to P, but which contained various readings. This is undoubtedly the explanation of *de Dom.* § 47 'Legum scriptor] legum scripturae uel scriptor' G: *ibid.* § 61 'nec omnium hostium] nec communium hostium uel omnium' G: *cp. in Sen.* § 14 'cum stipe uel aethiope': *Sest.* § 29 'cum fratre mihi uel compare cum patre': *Vat.* § 3 'qui et uel quia.'

Another feature about G that seems specially worthy of notice is the large number of passages where the scribe has changed the order of words. As this connects with the study of what I have elsewhere called 'transposition variants' (*Am. J. Phil.* XXVIII, p. 125 sqq.), it may be worth while to enumerate the places here. They make it certain that Mueller has done wrong to accept e.g.

¹ Compare *de Prou. Cons.* § 19, where the writer of P has made a useless repetition of the text: 'bellum adfectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum uidemus et uere ut dicam paene confectum sed ita ut.' Instead of deleting the superfluous words, as he does in similar cases elsewhere, P² has written in the letters *ta* above

the latter part of the word *confectum*. (The alternative reading meant to be suggested may have been *conflatum*.) B reproduces exactly, except that it gives *confectatum*. Σ , on the other hand, saw that there was something wrong, and after copying as far as *confectatum*, relegated the rest (*uidemus . . . confectum*) to the margin.

the variant *se dicat* at *de Domo* § 105 on the authority of GVM instead of *dicat se*. To facilitate reference I shall cite the pages of Mueller's edition, giving only, in order to save space, the reading of G, which will be found in every case to be an inversion of the order in the received text, as vouched for by PBΣ et rell.

post reditum in Senatu :

§ 2 (p. 430, 9) est et infinitum : § 3 (p. 430, 28) potestas decernendi : § 4 (p. 431, 13 and 15) salutem meam and uirtute et praestantissima : § 9 (p. 433, 3) in me conseruando fuerit : § 22 (p. 438, 23 and 31) sibi cara mea and tota mea : § 31 and § 32 (p. 442, 19 and 31) mutata ueste and desereret non modo.

post red. ad Quirites :

§ 3 (p. 447, 28) magis quam fruendo intellexi : § 12 (p. 451, 5) res confecta : § 16 (p. 453, 5) uos primum.

de Domo :

§ 3 (p. 458, 26) habiturum esse : § 9 (p. 461, 9) sit allata : § 10 (p. 461, 18) quid reprehendatur quoniam princeps ego, etc. : § 36 (p. 471, 10) iure pontificio : § 40 (p. 472, 24) breuiter nunc : § 41 (p. 473, 5) diei sexta : § 42 (p. 473, 21 and 23) agere iure and esse rem pub. : § 54 (p. 478, 1) prudentiam modestiamque : § 64 (p. 481, 12) cum summa : § 66 (p. 482, 1) ciuitatis esse : § 68 (p. 482, 28 and 31) sibi dicere and esse nulla : § 72 (p. 484, 9) si est etiam : § 75 (p. 485, 13) sibi redditam : § 79 (486, 34) tum etiam : § 88 (p. 490, 7) tale mihi : § 100 (p. 494, 7) causa mea : § 105 (p. 496, 21) polluit caerimonias : § 110 (p. 498, 6) beneficiis populi : § 112 (p. 498, 36) audeat uiolare quisquam : § 118 (p. 501, 5) putanda est : § 121 (p. 502, 6) aditus templi : § 121 (p. 502, 9) tibi dicere : § 122 (p. 502, 15) defenderem iure : § 127 (p. 503, 36) inquit magnam : § 131 (p. 505, 28 and 31) illa res and in curia uolebat : § 134 (p. 507, 9) manu tetigit tremebunda : § 138 (508, 30) iure pontificum : § 141 (p. 510, 6) me seque : § 143 (p. 510, 27 and 32) esse numine and sceleratissimis suis : § 144 (p. 511, 12) illum ignem : § 145 (p. 511, 23) de salute nihil nisi ciuium meorum : § 146 (p. 511, 35) eum quaeso.

de Harusp. Resp. :

§ 7 (p. 517, 3) a praetore tertius : § 26 (p. 525, 16) mentionem generis sui : § 47 (p. 534, 27) in me uno : § 51 (p. 536, 28) gratiae esse : § 53 (p. 537, 10) sunt res : § 55 (p. 537, 34) hominum animis : § 57 (p. 539, 3) non inesset in hoc : § 63 (p. 541, 14) sono aliquid.

pro Sestio :

§ 5 (p. 3, 33) uideatur esse : § 17 (p. 8, 23) appellem nomine : § 20 (p. 9, 35) intueri impendentem : § 23 (p. 10, 31) et conferta plena : § 25 (p. 11, 22) nominatim consulum : § 27 (p. 12, 29) facta uestis : § 31 (p. 14, 19) sui tribunatus uim : § 32 (p. 14, 27) decreuisset de mea salute : § 33 (p. 15, 8) tute tibi : § 35 (p. 16, 12) malis tantis : § 35 (p. 16, 15) die hodierno : § 39 (p. 17, 35) erant omnes : § 40 (p. 18, 21) suaque—loquebantur *transposed before* tribunalum—nolebant : § 41 (p. 18, 26 and 35) causae susceptae and ignari homines : § 44 (p. 19, 32) altera eius modi illa : § 45 (p. 20, 16) me potius ipse : § 46 (p. 20, 22 and 27) unus deditus essem and suum aliquem : § 55 (p. 25, 10) adprobantibus etiam : § 58 (p. 26, 17) illum magnum : § 59 (p. 27, 2 and 4) semper socius, semper amicus and nostros allata : § 62 (p. 28, 12) dicere mihi : § 63 (p. 28, 26) in p. r. : § 64 (p. 28, 35) liberas ciuitates : § 72 (p. 32, 6) p. r. : § 76 (p. 33, 35) fortissimum que mei : § 78 (p. 34, 31 and 37) ferri de me and p. r. : § 82 (p. 36, 17) illi ipsi : § 88 (p. 39, 22) re se : § 91 (p. 40, 24) appellamus publicas : § 96 (p. 42, 27) esse uolebant : § 104 (p. 46, 8) audire uelle : § 110 (p. 48, 19 and 21) non ille and bonum et fortem : § 112 (p. 49, 5) illis furias : § 122 (p. 53, 15) dici posse : § 129 (p. 56, 22) ex municipiis qui : § 144 (p. 63, 26) fratris mei :

On the reading 'gen' in *Vatin* § 4 (p. 61) § 21 (p. 73, 2) § 33 (p. 77, 2) § 41 (p. 81, 8) *de Prov.* § 1 (p. 1) § 18 (p. 121, 1) liberata met gratum mihi *pro Balb* § 4 (p. 141, 32 and 34) (p. 144, 28) saluam : § 5 fixum iudice

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On the other hand, it may be recorded here that at § 67 (p. 30, 4) I find the reading 'gentes qui feras' (hitherto attributed to G) also in PBE.

in *Vatinium* :

§ 4 (p. 66, 30) esse fas : § 10 (p. 69, 9) bonis horum : § 18 (72, 7) non duobus : § 21 (p. 73, 6) de re pub. bene : § 30 (p. 76, 33) cum summis uiris commune : § 33 (p. 77, 24) illud etiam : § 34 (p. 78, 22) uelles utrum : § 37 (p. 79, 22) legem esse : § 41 (p. 81, 8) uterque reus.

de *Prov. Cons.*

§ 1 (p. 115, 4) hoc quod : § 15 (p. 120, 27 and 31) hoc sane and Gabini audacia : § 18 (p. 121, 18) uir optimus me : § 30 (p. 125, 34) alia omnia : § 32 (p. 126, 24) liberata metu : § 33 (p. 126, 31) domuit compulit : § 41 (p. 130, 6 and 24) iudicium gratum mihi and generum suum : § 43 (p. 131, 16) tempus tristissimum.

pro *Balbo* :

§ 4 (p. 136, 2) ex uoluptatis : § 19 (p. 141, 14) potius (totius) causae : § 20 (p. 141, 32 and 34) fuit in ea and populi socii : § 24 (p. 143, 9) donatos esse : § 28 (p. 144, 28) homine libertino : § 33 (p. 146, 32) nihil esse : § 37 (p. 148, 24) uelit esse saluam : § 51 (p. 151, 36) non re : § 58 (p. 156, 34) malis nostris : § 65 (p. 159, 22) fixum iudices.

Such inversions as the above constitute a serious impeachment of the fides of G. Whether they are to be credited to the writer of G or to some previous copyist, they seem to confirm the view that the systematic adoption of such 'transposition variants' originated in a writer's desire to give some individuality to his work. In some cases the change may have been motivated by considerations of rhythm. In others the remarkable feature is that the inversion produces nonsense.

The following are passages taken from the *de Domo* alone in which the reading of G differentiates that MS. from P, and is generally found repeated in later codd. of the same group (notably M and V):

§ 7 (p. 460, 8 and 13) tela illa (for te iam illinc) and res illa : § 16 (463, 37) in ea re ratio : § 22 (p. 465, 34) ut praetor (for uteretur) : § 40 (p. 472, 51) a. D. oppio : § 44 (p. 474, 15) inuidiosorum : § 81 (p. 487, 26) ornatissimis : § 86 (p. 489, 11) incitatum iracundiamque : § 88 (p. 490, 7) profectionem notam esse tamen is qui : § 101 (p. 494, 21) om. adsensu : § 121 (p. 502, 7) nemo uit qua tenuit for nemo umquam tenuit : § 126 (p. 503, 35) tota est effecisti : § 127 (p. 504, 11) quē te unius u plebis (for quae uetet iniussu pl.) : § 131 (p. 506, 25) om. ordines omnes : § 139 (p. 509, 2) cum meus :

More valuable than any codex of the G group I have found the second *Bernensis* (254), which I call f. This MS. formerly belonged to Notre Dame, to which it was presented by Jean Courtecuisse, Chancellor of the University of Paris in 1418, and Bishop of Paris in 1420. I shall only say of it here that it shows a strong agreement with the *codex Stephani*, and that I have found in it anticipations of valuable emendations by later scholars (e.g. *de Dom.* § 16 in ea re necne ratio, a correction hitherto attributed to Garatoni, and *ibid.* § 120 pontifex et tribunus, as was conjectured by Baiter).

I now proceed to append some notes on controverted passages :

In Sen. § 12 fecitque, quod nemo umquam tyrannus, ut quo minus occulte

uestrum malum gemeretur nihil diceret, ne aperte incommoda patriae lugeretur ediceret.

On the absence or insertion of a comma after *fecitque* must depend our interpretation of the syntax of the above. Is *quod* a direct accusative after *fecit* (= *id quod*), or is it in apposition with the rest of the sentence? This interesting point will be discussed in connexion with a parallel passage, *Vat.* § 1: it is referred to here only to illustrate the importance of the punctuation of our Latin texts. Mueller obelizes *nihil diceret*, whereas Madvig rejected all the words that follow, which are omitted in P and supplied by P². The grammar and rhythm of the text might perhaps be improved by reading *nihil diceret (impedire) ne aperte . . . ediceret*. But there is something crude in the antithesis *occulte*—*aperte*, and *gemeretur*—*lugeretur*, to say nothing of *diceret*, *ediceret*. On the whole, it seems not unlikely that the words *quo minus*—*nihil diceret* should go out.¹ They have the look of an adscript supplied by someone who remembered the passage in *Pis.* § 18 'maiores relinquit: maioris aufert insignia.' Cp. *Sest.* XIV.

ad Quir. § 1 ut quod odium . . . iam diu contineret, id in me uno potius quam in optimo quoque et universa ciuitate † deficeret.

Here Hotoman suggested *defigeret*, which might stand. But what is wanted is some word with the idea of *saturaret*; and remembering how the codd. sometimes interchange *de* and *ex*, I am inclined to think that *deficeret* may have taken the place of *expleretur*.

ibid. § 19 for *ideo manet* read *id adeo manet*. This emendation has suggested itself also to Dr. K. Busche, of Leer, Ostfriesland, who has kindly placed at my disposal some critical notes on the *Post Reditum* speeches, of which I hope to avail myself for the purposes of my forthcoming edition. At the end of § 20 he suggests *ego qua consueui utar (aequitate)*; I propose *oratione* as more suitable to the context.

ibid. § 23 *Postremo qui in ulciscendo remissior fuit † in eorum aperte utitur*.

Conjectures here are numerous. Perhaps in *eo consilium aperte laudatur* would give a suitable antithesis to what follows—at *grauissime vituperatur qui*, etc.

de Domo § 21.

In the very difficult passage occurring in this section, it should be pointed out that the pluperfects *prodixeras*—*subdixeras* are not in line with those which follow, *obieceras*—*dixeras*. The latter—not the former—are naturally taken up by the closing interrogation *ad hunc honorem . . . detulisti?* Possibly there has been an omission *ex homoeoteleuto*, and the original text may have run somehow as follows:

'Atque in hoc solum inconstantiam redarguo tuam qui in ipso Catone (uirum elegeris cuius in tali re firmitas et fides omnibus possent probari. Sed quid tibi cum Catone).'

¹ The construction is not really improved by Lehmann's *nihil diceret <esse quod obstat>*: it must have been intended to follow the lines of the more usual *qua re hoc ita sit, nihil dico* (*Dom.* § 84; *Mil.* § 30).

ibid.

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ibid. § 62 Mueller here prints the reading of P, without emendation: † *senatus consules uocabant*. From this it is easy to pass, with recent editors, to *senatum consules uocabant* (e.g. *Sest.* § 41). But this does not help the sense of the passage. Cicero is here speaking of Piso and Gabinius, and he means to be contemptuous, as usual. Read *scilicet consules uocabant*, or *scil. eos consules (cos.) uocabant*. He wishes to imply that they did not deserve the name of consuls. *Cp. Vat.* § 18 'duobus non consulibus sed proditoribus huius ciuitatis ac pestibus': *Pis.* §§ 23, 24 'tum Romae fuisse consules quisquam existimabit? Qui latrones igitur si quidem uos consules . . . nominabuntur?'

ibid. § 68 ui, armis discriptione hominum ad caedem instituta nouoque dominatu pulsum esse dixit.

This is Mueller's reading, but it cannot stand. The codd. have *dissensione*, and also, instead of *ad*, *aut* P¹ and *et* P² *rell.* Why not *dissensione hominum et caede instituta*?

ibid. § 80 ea iura sanxerunt quae nec uis temporum nec potentia magistratum nec † *res* tum iudicata nec denique uersus populi Romani potestas . . . labefactare possit.

For *res* tum iudicata Madvig suggested *rerum iudicarum auctoritas*, and this has been adopted by Mueller. A simpler interpretation of the corruption of the MSS. would be *praetorum decreta*. For the confusion of *iudicium* and *decretum* (probably due to like contractions) *cp. Balb.* § 11.

§ 107 nec est ulla erga deos pietas sine honesta de numine eorum ac mente opinione, ut expeti nihil ab iis, quod sit iniustum atque inhonestum, fas esse arbitrare.

I give this interesting passage as it appears in Mueller's text: the words *fas esse* are supplied by him, the codd. giving *cum expeti . . . inhonestum arbitrare*. Accepting *ut . . . arbitrare*, it would be simpler to suppose that the words *iustum aut honestum* (instead of *fas esse*) have fallen out after *iniustum atque inhonestum*. In the earlier part of the sentence *sine—opinione* comes from Halm: most MSS. give *si—opinio*. But in place of *si* I find *nisi* in f (Bern. 254), which suggests that the true reading may be *nisi sit honesta—opinio. pro Sestio.* (*Cp. Class. Quart.* III p. 266 sqq.)

§ 72 quem homines in luctu inidentes Gracchum uocabant, quoniam id etiam fatum ciuitatis fuit ut illa ex uepreculis extracta nitedula rem publicam conaretur adrodere.

The point of the joke seems to be contained in the name *Gracchum*, but it has not been satisfactorily explained. As the reference obviously is to 'gnawing' or 'nibbling,' perhaps we ought to read *Grr. . . . acchum*.

ibid. § 89 Et uinci turpe putauit et deterri et latere: perfecit ut, etc.

Here Mueller follows Madvig. After *deterri* P¹ and G give the unintelligible *etiam eripere cicit (elegit G) ut*: while P² and the rest have *etiam eripi recicit ut*. There are numerous emendations to which I may be allowed to add *et clam eripi: id egit ut*, etc.

in Vat. § 1 Si tua tantum modo, Vatini, quid indignitas postulare

spectare uoluissim, fecissem id quod his uehementer placebat, ut te . . . tacitus dimitterem.

Here, to begin with, *tua* must go out: it is not found in any MS. Cp. *Sest.* § 60 *ignari quid grauitas—ualeret*. Next there seems to be an important point about the *facere ut* construction. Either the clause *id quod—placebat* is parenthetical (cp. in *Sen.* § 12), and we have here the usual periphrasis *fecissem ut dimitterem* used for greater emphasis instead of *dimisissim*, or *id quod*, etc., is the direct object of *fecissem*, the clause *ut . . . dimitterem* coming in afterwards epexegetically. I prefer the latter explanation, and insert no comma after *fecissem*, as would be necessary on the other alternative. In support of this view, I refer to the following passages:

Phil. III § 35 quod gladiatores nobiles faciunt, ut honeste decumbant, faciamus nos . . . ut cum dignitate potius cadamus quam cum ignominia seruiamus. *Vatin.* § 21 quod inuitus facio, ut recorder ruinas rei publicae. *Rosc.* § 151 Solent hoc boni imperatores facere . . . ut . . . collocent. *Verr.* II § 115 Faciunt hoc homines . . . ut uelint. *Planc.* § 72 At id . . . faciunt inuiti, ut coronam dent. *Cluent.* § 153 non fecerunt idem quod nunc Cluentius ut . . . putarent.

The above seem to be somewhat different from the equally common periphrastic construction of *facere ut*, e.g. *De Am.* § 12 Inuitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem: *ad Fam.* I § 7 Facio libenter ut per litteras tecum colloquar: *Verr.* II § 10 Fecerunt etiam ut me . . . prope de uitae meae statu dolore ac lacrimis suis deducerent: *Cluent.* § 111 Facite enim ut . . . recordemini: *Vatin.* § 30 qua mente feceris ut . . . accumberes.

An exactly parallel passage is *Verr.* I § 73, where the text should be shown 'fecit id quod multi reprehenderunt, ut exercitum, prouinciam, bellum relinqueret,' rather than 'fecit-id quod multi reprehenderunt-ut,' etc. Cp. *Verr.* I § 104 'quod eum natura hortabatur lex nulla prohibebat fecit ut filiam bonis suis heredem institueret': *Cluent.* § 168 'quoniam quod fuit uiri optimi fecisti ut ne cui,' etc.

The problem may be stated also in connexion with *Sest.* § 92 Hoc uident omnes: Milo et uidit et fecit, ut ius experiretur, uim depelleret.

Here *hoc* must be supplied with *fecit*, and so the *ut* clause becomes epexegetic: otherwise *fecit ut experiretur* would = *expertus est*.

§ 7 Quare peto a te ut mihi ignoscas Vatinii, cum ei patriae peperci quam seruaueram, et . . . feras.

Here for *cum ei* in the received text (*cum et Schol.*), P et rell. give *et cum*, which ought probably to have been *ei cum*. All codd. (except the Schol.) have *pepercerim*. Why not read *ei cum—pepercerim*? Madvig's *quod* for *cum* is not necessary, though the two are often interchanged: we find in Cicero *ignoscere si* (*Pis.* § 79) as well as *ignoscere quod* (*Phil.* II § 34).

ibid. § 9 Quid quisque nostrum de se ipse loquatur, non est sane requirendum: boni uiri iudicent, id est maximi momenti et ponderis.

Here the codd. give *iudicent*, for which Jordan conjectured *quid iudicent*:

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cf. *homines quid sentiant*, below. An even simpler emendation, and more suitable to *de se ipse loquatur*, would be to write *boni viri quid dicant*.

§ 12 post quaesturam exierisne legatus in ulteriorem Hispaniam C. Cosconio pro consule?

Though recent practice is against me, I see no reason why we should not read *proconsuli* here (*procos.* PB) instead of *pro consule*. It is generally believed that *proconsul* is a later form. But if the word had a plural ('bella a proconsulibus administrantur,' *Diu.* II § 76), why should it not have had a singular as well? ('res a propraetore gesta,' *Prou. Cons.* § 15). So I should print *Pompeio proconsuli* (not *pro consule*) *contubernalis*, *Cael.* § 63, and *post Brutum proconsulem*, *Phil.* II § 97. Cp. *Verr.* II, I, § 34 'Quaestor Cn. Papirio consuli fuisti.'

§ 16 te aediliciam praetextam togam, quam frustra confecerat, uendidisse!

Instead of violently transposing these words, with Schuetz and Zielinski, to the end of the following sentence, I propose to take them as an exclamatory parenthesis (perhaps *tene—uendidisse*: *Cluent.* § 84). Of the three tribunes here referred to, Cicero says, two became praetors and one got the consulship: and to think that you, Vatinius, sold the aedile's robe you had prematurely ordered!

§ 19 et ex desiderio clarissimi ciuis et ex honore turpissimi atque improbissimi.

It seems safer here to follow P et rell., which give *clarissimi*, instead of GHES, which have *clarissimi et fortissimi* (the *Frisingensis* collated by Halm is reported to have *fort. et clar.*). No doubt 'paralepsia' frequently occurs in regard to such superlatives (see my note on *Verr.* III § 52), and this is why I propose to accept Dr. Busche's emendation *grauissimis* <ac plenissimis> *dignitatis uiris*, *Sest.* § 6. But the fides of the G family is doubtful, both here and at § 26, where P et rell. have *impurissime*, while G gives *imp. et perditissime*. The collocation of *clarissimus* and *fortissimus* is of course very common: *Verr. Act. Pr.* § 44, cf. *Balb.* § 49, where it is G that omits *et clarissime* against P.

de Prou. Consularibus.

§ 5 ut, quod est indignissimum, scelus imperatoris in poenam exercitus + expetitum esse uideatur.

Here *expiatum* has been adopted by Mueller, but would seem to call for *in exercitum* instead of *in poenam exercitus*: cf. *Pis.* § 85 'tua scelera di immortales in nostros milites expiauerunt.' I suspect in *poenam*, and would propose to read in *patriam exercitumque expiatum*.

ibid. § 29 At ego idem nunc in prouinciis decernendis . . . interpellor, cum in superioribus causis hominis ornamenta fuerint, in hac me nihil nisi ratio belli, nisi summa utilitas rei publicae moueat.

Incidentally it may be remarked that a mistake once made is apt to perpetuate itself: it is not the *in* before *prouinciis* that is missing from the

MSS. and was supplied by Lambinus, as Mueller asserts (following Baiter), but the *in* after *cum*.

For *fuertint* Dr. K. Busche has suggested *iuuerim*, in place of which I should prefer to see *fourerim*. But a simpler explanation of the corruption is suggested by a comparison of *Balb.* § 19 'ut . . . hominis ipsius ornamenta adiumento causae potius quam impedimento esse malitis.' The similar word *adiumento* has fallen out of our text after *ornamenta*: read therefore *cum . . . hominis ornamenta adiumento fuerint*.

ibid. § 36 Quo mihi nihil uidetur alienius . . . quam ut, etc.

Quo here comes from Manutius. There is nothing to correspond to it in P¹, while P² et rell. supply *Quae*. Lambinus read *Atqui*. I suggest *Quaquam*. *pro Balb.* § 3 ut mihi iam uerum uideatur illud esse . . . ei qui omnis animo uirtutes penitus comprehendisset omnia quae faceret † tractare.

The allusion is to the Stoic doctrine *φασὶ δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν τὸν σοφὸν κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἀρετάς*, Stobaeus *Ecl.* II p. 116: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πάντ' εἰ ποιεῖν τὸν σοφὸν ἃ ποιεῖ, id. *Eth.* 169. If there were any doubt about *ei qui*, we might write *cum qui . . . omnia quae faceret facere recte*. But with *ei* we need, in place of the corrupt *tractare*, something like *recte stare* (*κατόρθωμα*) or *praeclare euadere*. Perhaps *omnia quae faceret recte procedere* (cf. *Rab. Post.* § 1 'cui bene quid processerit').

ibid. § 11 nos Cn. Pompei decretum (iudicium) de consilii sententia pronuntiatum recognoscemus.

Unless *iudicium* is to be entirely deleted, as an alternation needlessly suggested (cp. de Domo § 68) we may easily emend by reading *iudices*.

ibid. § 14 quasi uero leuius sit . . . facere aliquid quod scias non licere quam omnino non scire quid liceat.

This passage must be studied in its context. It is not really improved by reading *non leuius*, as the editors do, following Lambinus: or alternatively *peius*, *nequius*, or *turpius* instead of *leuius*. If this were the meaning, it would be simpler to invert the clauses, and read *quasi uero leuius sit . . . omnino non scire quid liceat quam facere aliquid quod scias non licere*. But this would be to mistake the argument. Pompeius is charged with having acted illegally, and the question is whether he did what he did *sciens* or *insciens*. In § 13 the former alternative is dismissed as incredible. In § 14 the accuser says, 'Very well then: let us say *insciens*'; to which Cicero makes reply in the clause beginning with *quasi uero*—words which seem to imply that the adversary's change of front is founded on a miscalculation. 'Ah!' says the orator, 'that is a mistake: you should have stuck to *sciens*: just as though it were less heinous to do an illegal act knowingly than not to know what is legal! Why, it is more heinous! You won't make it worse for Pompeius by saying *insciens*.' Madvig, Baiter, and others have failed, as it seems to me, to see the point of the dilemma which Cicero is putting. The *accusator* is looking for the heaviest charge, and ought not to grasp at the suggested alternative *insciens*. The one

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horn of the dilemma has been shown to be untenable, but the adversary is not to be allowed to have the other!

ibid. § 15 Temporum magis ego nunc utiis quam genere iudicii plura dicam.

I doubt if this can stand, and suggest that *inductus*, or *adductus*, may have fallen out after *iudicii*.

ibid. § 19 qua lege uidemus † *satis esse sancti ut ciues Rómani sint ii quos Cn. Pompeius . . . ciuitate donauerit.*

For *satis esse sancti* Reid proposed *ita esse sanctum*, which might, I think, be improved into *rite esse sanctum* (*Har. Resp.* § 32). Pantagathus suggested *sanxisse senatum*, while others would read *satis aperte* (or *dilucide*) *esse sanctum*.

ibid. 25 Hanc tu igitur . . . condicionem statuis Gaditanis tuis ciuibus, ut quod iis quos magnis † adiutoribus tuis armis subegimus . . . liceat . . . id ne liceat ipsis.

This passage has created great difficulty, and conjectures are numerous: *magnis adiuti opibus a maioribus tuis*, Madvig; *Magni armis adiutoribus tuis*, Reid. But it seems to admit an easy remedy. All we have to do is to suppose that after *adiutoribus tuis* the word *usi* has fallen out: cf. § 26 'nihil enim magis uteremur iis adiutoribus,' and § 38 'si aut adiutoribus illorum ciuibus uti in bellis nobis non liceret.'

Perhaps even better *quos magnis adiutoribus tuis usi ciuibus armis subegimus.*

W. PETERSON.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL,
April, 1910.

EVIDENCE OF GREEK RELIGION ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF ATTIC TRAGEDY.

THE object of this paper is partly to plead a cause, partly to proclaim a grievance. The last domain of ancient Greek life to attract the serious attention and study of modern scholars has been that of Greek Religion; and the exposition of it has revealed its many vital points of contact with the moral and spiritual energy and the artistic and poetic monuments of the ancient Hellenic race. An enthusiastic votary of this study might venture to hope that some general acquaintance with its facts and ideas would henceforth be recognized as belonging to the general curriculum of Hellenic culture. But any one merely interested in the good workmanship of the classical commentary ought at least to insist that something more than a general acquaintance with this subject should be regarded by those who set themselves to edit certain portions of the Greek classics as an essential preliminary and as a necessary part of their scholarly equipment. The authors to whom this rule specially applies are Hesiod, Pindar and the Attic Dramatists. A satisfying commentary on Hesiod is still a desideratum; and for such an achievement a long apprenticeship in anthropology and religious studies would be a necessity. And such a training is hardly less necessary for the interpretation, both textual and general, of Pindar and the Tragedians. Yet it is surely a grievance of which the general scholarly public may complain that the usual commentator of the Greek play never comes near to fulfilling this condition. Some, like Blass in his recent commentary on the *Choephori*, ignore the obvious duty altogether. Others dabble amateurishly in the subject, and having never worked at the real material of the popular religion, so as to acquire some critical perception of what was possible for the popular religious thought or religious phraseology, enliven their commentary with the flourishes of eccentric theorizing or of uncritical and often exploded dogma. This censure applies to foreign as to English commentators and to many, I fear, whose names are deservedly famous in the world of scholarship.

If one were anxious to justify this general verdict by the most flagrant example, one would cite the criticism delivered by many generations of scholars on the passage in Aesch. *Ag.* 69-70, concerning the reading and interpretation of which I published a paper in the *Classical Review* of 1897.

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The most elementary knowledge of Greek ritual would have saved us from the various absurdities perpetrated by way of commentary on that text. This defect in the commentator's equipment is responsible not merely for the misunderstanding of isolated passages but at times for the misinterpretation of leading characters or leading motives of the play. I may be allowed to cite at least one salient instance. In his analysis of the plot of the *Antigone*, Jebb could not have presented to us so false and misleading a portrait of Kreon, if by more study of the relevant facts he had trained himself to imagine how the Athenian audience would be impressed by the terrible words of the King, l. 1039, 'that man ye shall not bury, not even if the eagles of Zeus are fain to carry the carrion morsels of his flesh to the throne of God.' This wild and revolting blasphemy of a dull Theban despot who is maddened at any hint of opposition to his will is intended by the cunning Sophocles to cause a shudder in the Athenian audience and an instant conviction that the doom of such a man is sealed. Even Kreon seems half-terrified by the awful sound of his own speech and tries to escape its nemesis by resort to scepticism, 'for no mortals can pollute the gods.' Jebb is deaf to the call of the religious poet, and still clings to his faith in Kreon as the type of the respectable bourgeois. I cannot do justice in a few words to the heinousness of his note: 'The most orthodox Greek piety held that "no mortal could pollute the gods."' The myriad-tongued evidence from the ritual and beliefs of the popular creed exclaims against this worst error of our most brilliant commentator. The whole of Greek religious life was based on the opposite principle and would give the lie to Kreon, who here merely adds the folly of untimely scepticism to the sin of blasphemy. To make matters even worse Jebb cites as the solitary support for his paradox a passage almost equally great in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1232, where Theseus, endeavouring to save the broken-hearted Herakles who wishes to veil his polluted head from the sun's light, speaks these strange words to him, 'thou being a mortal dost not pollute the powers of heaven.' This is not scepticism here but the new message of a higher religious gospel, to the height of which antiquity never wholly rose: the Athenian audience might hold Euripides suspect for this daring doctrine, yet tolerate it here where it was a question of saving by any desperate device a mentally stricken man from suicide. Euripides is not Sophocles nor is Theseus Kreon; and to cite the two passages as parallels is to blur all distinctness of outline in the religious perception.

I have not set myself the unpleasant task of framing a detailed impeachment of some of our greatest scholars: and I may conclude this introductory part of my papers with enunciating from the point of view of a student of Greek religion certain canons of criticism which I find habitually ignored:

(a) as each of the three Tragedians was competing always for a prize, and therefore would naturally wish the people to understand him, he must be presumed to use religious names and phrases in the sense which the people would be sure to attach to them. We have all the more reason for this

assumption, as we note that when the poet wishes to preach or to innovate, he is found to call the people's attention to his new view or new pose (δέιχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰμι). Therefore it behoves us to discover, not for instance what Apollo or Ares was or stood for in the beginning of time, but what they meant for the Athenian people of the 5th century; and in the same sympathetic spirit to believe that when the poet says Helios he means Helios, and when he mentions Ares, even at such an awful moment as when the god is ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων and the Thebans are dying in heaps, he does not mean the lurid Setting-Sun unless this amazing fact that Ares is a sort of Helios-Hades can be detected somewhere in the popular contemporary belief:

(b) great attention should be made to the significance of divine epithets in the Tragedians as in Pindar; but for the interpretation of them mere etymological analysis is not sufficient, but knowledge of local cults and general anthropological study is often demanded:

(c) that a poet's language is mysterious does not justify the commentator in an indolent allusion to Greek mysteries:

(d) ritual language should be interpreted in the light of Greek ritual-inscriptions.

I may now illustrate this preamble by a few examples drawn from the *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroi*.

Agam. 594. καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ.

The difficulty of this reading has long been felt, namely that if we preserve it, we have to interpret ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν as meaning that various men in different places raised the ὀλολυγμός. But from the Homeric down through all the periods of classic Greek ὀλολυγμός is always the sacrificial cry of the women, and is so defined by the Lexicographers: the only exception is of that kind which proves the rule, namely the passage in the *De Corona* § 259 where Demosthenes taunts Aeschines with priding himself on his fine voice and with being able to raise the ὀλολυγμός louder than any of the women in the disreputable thiasoi of Attis; it is part of the jibe that Aeschines was mixed up in the rites of women. When Servius *Aen.* 4. 168 states 'Graeci primam proelii congressionem ὀλολυγὴν dicunt' he is under the same illusion as apparently was the Scholiast on the Medicean text, μόνη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, δαίμονι οὔσῃ πολεμικῇ, ὀλολύζουσι. Therefore commentators have approved of Margoliouth and Wecklein's suggestion that we should read γυναικεῖοι νόμοι. Though Aeschylus would probably not have written νομφ and νομοι with the same letters, yet this slight emendation would be acceptable, if it could possibly be reconciled with the line θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες; but its proposers do not seem to realize the difficulty that here arises; no Greek could speak of the loud strains of women lulling to sleep the fire on the altar. I can see no other makeshift for smoothing away the difficulty but a bolder emendation of γυναικείῳ νόμῳ, such as γυναικεῖοι χοροί (Gilbert) or γυναικεῖοι στόλοι (Hartung and Blaydes).

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Verrall's quaint idea that this bad MS. reading could stand as meaning a storm 'very provoking to the gods of the Achaeans' is indefensible in point of grammar, and ignores the fact that it was the Achaeans who sent the storm; but it also betrays an ignorance of the religious phraseology of the Greeks. Ordinarily they did not call their deities οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, still less τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, but only when it might be necessary to contrast them with the 'gods of the Egyptians,' or 'gods of the Persians': otherwise they are of course merely οἱ θεοί: cf. Greek inscr. in Brit. Mus. Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς θεοῖς *Arch. Anz.* 1909, p. 421.

1193. εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενείς.

These words grammatically may be interpreted either in the sense that the Erinyes express their loathing for the murder of the children of Thyestes by Atreus or for the adultery of Thyestes which provoked that murder. The second interpretation is preferred by Verrall: the only other passage that could support it is Sophocles *Electra* 114 αἱ τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους. . . . It might be supposed that Aeschylus was aware that in Attic cult they were charged with some function of protecting the marriage, as Athena in the *Eumen.* 834 promises that sacrifice shall be made to them πρὸ παίδων καὶ γαμηλίου τέλους: but if he there has anything real in mind it is some ritual connected with the Semnai, who in Athens were not really Ἐρινύες at all, but probably half-disguised forms of the Earth-goddess and her daughter. It is also true that Aeschylus at times attaches to the Erinyes a vague and wide moral administration (as in *Ag.* 462), but more frequently he limits their sphere specially to bloodshed, and in the *Eumenides* even to the special department of kindred bloodshed. Here then in this passage in the *Agamemnon* where we have to choose between unnatural murder of kindred and mere adultery as the crime for which they demand vengeance, the former is by far the more natural interpretation: it also better suits the order of the words.

1257. ὁτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἀπολλων.

It is an old-fashioned error that this epithet denotes the destructive side of Apollo; it supports itself merely on the passage in *Sept. C. Theb.* 132 καὶ σὺ Λύκει' ἀναξ Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίφ. But repeatedly in the *Electra* of Sophocles he is prayed to as a benign god: this is also his character in Aesch. *Suppl.* 686 εὐμενὴς δ' ὁ Λύκειος ἔστω πᾶσα νεολαία. Aeschylus in *Sept.* 132 shows himself aware that Apollo might at times be identified with the wolf, and does not fall into Sophocles' mistake of calling him λυκοκτόνος. But in no other passage except that in the *Septem* need we give the epithet the etymological sense. He is appealed to by Cassandra as by Electra as being the great god of the Argive state in whose temple burnt the perpetual fire. In this passage of the *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus could not have wished the name

to connote the wolf, for almost immediately after Aegisthus is called the wolf, and he is by no means under the protection of Apollo. For the Argives and Athenians of the 5th century the word *Λύκειος* had for the most part only a local meaning.

1332. *δακτυλοδεικτών*.

This word is treated by all modern editors as a verbal adjective in the gen. plur. with a paroxytone accent, and interpreted 'all-envied,' 'pointed at with the finger of admiration.' If there were such a word, which is nowhere else actually found, it might indeed bear such a sense; the Latin 'monstratus digito' would be in itself no evidence for Greek, but a passage in Lucian's *Ἐνύπνιον* II, τῷ δακτύλῳ σὲ δείξας 'οὗτος ἐκεῖνος' λέγων . . . shows that the later Greek could express admiration by the act and the phrase *δεικνύναι τι τῷ δακτύλῳ*. Yet this meaning is here not wholly suitable, for if the house is already all-envied, the danger which the wise owner ought to avert is already incurred: we rather want some such phrase as 'no one tries to keep off excessive prosperity from the house of moderate means *μελάθρων μετρίων*.' I am convinced that the MSS. and the Scholiasts were right in interpreting the word as an active present participle in the masc. nom. sing. from the verb *δακτυλοδεικτέω*, which occurs in Demosthenes and later writers: for the MSS. give us *δακτυλοδεικτῶν*, and the comment of the Scholiast which I have not found noticed by any modern commentator is οὐδὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ τις παραδεικνύς αὐτῷ ἀποστήσει τῷ οἴκῳ· οὐ γάρ ποτέ τι τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύσει: what sense all these words convey is not absolutely clear: but it is clear that he understood that it is the master of the house who is keeping the danger away by pointing with his finger and that he read *δακτυλοδεικτῶν*. The new meaning then that I propose is this 'No one thinks of standing in front of his house and keeping the Nemesis of excessive prosperity away, averting the evil eye by pointing with his middle finger and uttering the words 'Come no longer to enter here.' Aeschylus is thinking of one of the various apotropaic methods for averting bad spiritual influences from houses. In Thasos Mr. Tod (*Hell. Journ.* 1909 p. 99) found an inscription on an old Greek house *Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ*: I had occasion to point out to him that this was explained by the Pompeian inscription Kaibel Ep. 1138 *ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν*. The latter words remind us of the Aeschylean phrase. Ghosts might be frightened off by the advertisement that 'the great Herakles *ἀλεξίκακος* [the terror of all ghosts] lives here': truth is not important in magic spells: a more common apotropaion was to extend the middle finger against the evil eye. It may be that in Demosthenes' speech against Aristogeiton (790. 20), the word *δακτυλοδεικτεῖν* also had some nuance of apotropaic meaning: he is speaking of Aristogeiton, at whom men point the finger, as marking out the greatest villain in the world. But in the later passages, Dio Cassius (61. 17) and Dion. Hal. *De Rhet.* 7. 4, the better sense attaches to it.

Choeiph

The first criticized the Aeschylus to which was offered by an improbable to Agamen Hermes χῆ Orestes is Hermes χῆ ἀγάλματα one here. a little on refer back in excellen the lower Zeus χθόνι translating follows, in Zeὺς Σωτήρ which is g stronger: rather tha secondly g right, as e invoked as Greek reli his book, i (4th cent. suggested vocative an here invol to this cru when they The appel special co Arcadia; family, so Attica, an in Lysias' misled Ve πατρώος.

Choeph. 1-3.

The first three lines have been debateable ground, ever since Aristophanes criticized them in the *Frogs*. I only wish to suggest reasons for thinking that Aeschylus gives us in that amusing scene the true and obvious interpretation, to which we feel that Aristophanes himself assents: the other interpretations offered by ancient and modern commentators are all less likely, some are most improbable, some impossible: undeserving of notice are those that refer *πατῶα* to Agamemnon and *κράτη* to his death or victories. First let us note that Hermes *χθόνιος* was just the very deity to be prominently mentioned here, for Orestes is kneeling at his father's grave; graves were often dedicated to Hermes *χθόνιος*, as many grave-inscriptions from Thessaly show us: also *ἀγάλματα* of Hermes were set up by graves, and in all probability there was one here. After the invocation of Hermes *χθόνιος*, it was most natural to dwell a little on that title; therefore the words *πατῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη* naturally refer back to H. *χθόνιος*, and mean 'the steward of powers that are thy sire's,' in excellent accord with the popular religion; for Hermes was not the Lord of the lower world in his own right, but only as the minister and messenger of Zeus *χθόνιος*. Two other modern interpretations may be ruled out. (a) Tucker, translating the words *πατῶ' ἐπ . . . κράτη* as I do, interprets them by what follows, in reference to *Σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι*, 'in stewarding the will of thy sire Zeus *Σωτήρ*, become *Σωτήρ* to me.' He does not argue the other interpretation which is given above. There are two objections to his own, one slighter, one stronger: the style of the phrase suffers if it is to be explained by what follows rather than by what precedes, for the mind of the hearer is kept in suspense; secondly *qua* *χθόνιος*, Hermes was a steward, *qua* *Σωτήρ* he was in his own right, as every deity was at times by divine right a saviour and apt to be invoked as such—no apology was necessary. Tucker, whose ignorance of Greek religion is, in spite of one or two good suggestions, the weakest part in his book, is perhaps not aware of a recorded cult of Hermes *Σωτήρ* at Amorgos (4th cent. inscr. B.C.). (b) But Verrall follows a still worse interpretation, suggested by Macnaghten in the *Journal of Philology* xvi, 205, that *πατῶα* is a vocative and an appellative of Hermes. Tucker merely notes a stylistic difficulty here involved. If each of these three scholars had devoted necessary research to this crucial point, he could have discovered what exactly the Greeks meant when they called a god *πατῶας*, and whether Hermes could be so called here. The appellative normally means that the deity is the actual ancestor of a special community or family. Hermes had nowhere this position except in Arcadia; and not even there is the appellative attested of him. The only family, so far as we know, who could call Hermes *πατῶας* were the Kerykes in Attica, and even their claim was disputed (see my *Cults* iii. p. 172). A speaker in Lysias' oration alludes to this privilege of the Kerykes, and this passage has misled Verrall into supposing that Hermes was anywhere and everywhere *πατῶας*. No Hellenic deity was ever that. As neither Orestes' family nor

the Argive state claimed Hermes for their ancestor, *πατρώε* is meaningless: the *θεὸς πατρώος* of Orestes is of course Zeus.

32. *τόρος γὰρ φοῖβος ὀρθόθριξ.*

The word *φοῖβος* comes as a shock to any imagination trained on some knowledge of Greek and especially Apolline religion; but Wecklein, Verrall and Tucker remain unshocked and contented. The first excellent scholar is honestly ignorant of this special department of research and usually silent on points that concern it. But the two others, in dealing with this phrase, not only make illegitimate assumptions concerning unheard of meanings of *φοῖβος*, but also reveal a profound misconception of Greek religious feeling and of the Apolline worship. There is no deity in the Hellenic polytheism whose name was so impossible in this particular text. This ghostly vision of the night that makes the hair to stand on end and the flesh to quake comes from the infernal regions and smells of the sepulchre. The Greek would say like our poet, 'Not here, O Apollo, are haunts meet for thee.' For of this god the chorus in the *Agamemnon* say 'he is not such as to meet the funeral-wailer,' 'he is no fit god to take part in lamentation.' He could not come near the house where there was a death: the ship that wafts the soul of the dead is 'untrodden by Apollo' (*Sept.* 859). Therefore he loathes ghosts and ghostly dreams, and among the numberless records of his mantic shrines there is nowhere a hint of a dream-oracle. Those commentators should have noted the passage in *Iph. Taur.* 1259, which narrates how Apollo protested against the intrusion of *νύχιοι δνείροι* into the Delphic system of divination and got them banished for ever: they might then have felt that *φοῖβος* is here a sacrilegious word. The word *φόβος* is wholly appropriate, and if Tucker knew that *φόβος* is constantly personified as a demon he would not say *φόβος κότον πνέων*, a wholly proper figure, is 'very unnatural.' The Scholiast read *φόβος*: the poet himself in two later passages 287, 928, guarantees the truth of *φόβος*: and the dream-interpreters knew that the dream came from Hades, therefore it did not come from *Φοῖβος*.

60-65.

This vexed and interesting passage is a complex problem of criticism; here I only want to present one general view concerning it. W. G. Headlam, in his article in the *Classical Review*, 1902, concerning Tucker's *Choephoroi*, blames Tucker for not having been guided in his opinion concerning the true meaning by the passage in Plutarch *De Ser. Num. Vind.* (564 E) where three classes of offenders are distinguished: (a) the lesser sinners who are punished swiftly in this life by corporeal retribution, (b) those whose sins are greater and who are punished after death in Purgatory by Dike, (c) the hopeless sinners whom Dike cannot amend by any punishment and who are consigned for ever to the depths of Tartarus. And Headlam supposes that Aeschylus has this Orphic doctrine of a graduated posthumous retribution in his mind.

I cannot agree with Headlam's understanding of the great poet: that were not true, though Aeschylus' death, then, influence. upon his art excited by Purgatory: calls our attention straightforwardly to the contribution in the life are better lies in wait instantly, a

267-268.

If these do not express a weak one, a blessing-form of expression must have the victim *πισσοκώνη* chorus exclaims (*Aves* R 3). reprobated their child same word 'may they

346.

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I cannot agree with Headlam, nor do I feel that Plutarch helps us at all to understand Aeschylus. Plutarch has been undoubtedly influenced by the great poet; but he has imported into the retributive theory the Orphic doctrines that were much in vogue at the time and to which Plutarch was devoted. But though Aeschylus has the common popular belief in some retribution after death, there is no passage in his plays that even faintly suggests Orphic influence. Nor is it likely that he would darkly and guardedly steal a march upon his audience here. Pindar (*Ol.* 2. 57) on the other hand was profoundly excited by Orphism, and is the first apostle in literature of the dogma of Purgatory: but when he desires to proclaim this, he advertises the fact and calls our attention to it as a new and esoteric doctrine. Was Aeschylus less straightforward than Pindar? I believe this passage refers wholly to retribution in this life: (for τὰ δ' ἐν μεταίχμῳ σκότου is not an intelligible phrase for the lower world:) and it might merely mean—some sinners in the prime of life are being watched by justice, who will soon fall upon them: others she lies in wait for in the twilight of their life, that is, old age: others she visits instantly, and they are swallowed up in the darkness of utter night.

267-268. οὐδ' ἴδοιμ' . . . φλόγος.

If these words only refer to the funeral pyre, as is always supposed, they do not express a good curse: 'whom may I one day see dead' is a curse though a weak one: 'whom may I one day see dead and honourably buried' is almost a blessing. Now Aeschylus in the *Κρήσσαι* and Kratinos alluded to a terrible form of execution, not unknown to the negroes of the United States, which must have been occasionally used in Greece for the vilest criminals, of covering the victim with pitch and setting him alight: this gave rise to the expressions *πισσοκώνητος* Ἄρης and *πισσοκώνητος* μόρος. The phrase here used by the chorus exactly expresses this painful process (vide *Cults of the Greek States* vol. v. *Ares* R 3). We note also that the oracle mentioned in Athenaeus 524 A which reprobated the Milesian aristocrats for having put the democratic leaders and their children to this horrible death speaks of it as a *πισσῆρης* μόρος, using the same word as Aeschylus here. The curse of the chorus is a good curse, meaning 'may they die by the fiery torture of the tarred shirt.'

346. νεοκράτα φίλον κομίζει.

The MS. reading is evidently slightly wrong because of the metre: the cementing of friendship by drinking a bowl of wine together, a well-attested Greek practice, is supposed by Tucker to fully justify the phrase 'a newly-mixed friend': this may seem possible, but it hardly strikes us as natural, except on the supposition that the ancient Greeks practised, in ratifying a new friendship, the Teutonic rite of mixing a few blood-drops from each friend in a bowl and drinking each a part of the life of the other: then indeed the friend could be said to be mixed up in the bowl, for the essence of him is in it. Verrall sees this and assumes that the Teutonic practice occurred in Greece,

quoting various passages, all of which are irrelevant. In fact he says it must have been in vogue, as this passage proves it, which is a *petitio principii*. Knowing how rare was the sacramental shedding of human blood in Greece, how solemnly and reluctantly resorted to in exceptional ritual, I must refuse to believe this theory without clear evidence. Trumbull in his treatise *The Blood-Covenant* could find no Hellenic example; and Herodotus recording it of the Medes and Lydians regards it as un-Hellenic (1. 74). As the MS. has clearly blundered a little in transcribing the line, I suspect *φίλον*: and should prefer *φιλίαν νεοκράτα κομίζοι*.

394. καὶ πότε ἂν ἀμφιθαλὴς Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι.

Nothing is more important for the religious interpretation of the Tragedians than to appreciate the special significance of divine epithets. And this one here is at once the most singular in the poetry of the Attic stage, and the most valuable for its revelation of a peculiar law of the Greek religious imagination, rarely noted by scholars. To emend the word *ἀμφιθαλὴς* is to shirk one's duty. To explain it as 'wrapt in flame,' 'armed with a thunderbolt in both hands,' or more simply as 'flourishing all round' is trifling. The Attic records prove that *ἀμφιθαλὴς* only meant for them 'a child who had both parents alive'; the *παῖς ἀμφιθαλὴς* figures in many ritual-formulae as a necessary functionary in certain divine services, such as a marriage, a procession, a sacrifice. The word occurs in this sense in Homer and not infrequently in the Attic literature, while it is rare in the late *κοινή* Greek. And even then the lexicographers (Hesych., Et. Mag. s.v.) remembered its true and only meaning. Where then it occurs in Attic poetry, we must cling to this sense of it, and try to understand it. The daring Aeschylus uses it in a great phrase about the nightingale (*Ag.* 1140), who weeps for her *ἀμφιθαλὴ κακοῖς βίον*—which I venture to suggest means a life with an everliving parentage of woe, for the sources that engendered her 'woe are always alive. Aristophanes uses it in the true and exact sense when he speaks of Ἔρως *ἀμφιθαλὴς* as figuring in the bridal procession of Zeus and Hera (*Av.* 1737): Eros has both parents alive and is therefore qualified by Attic ritual law to assist in the wedding ceremony. Once in the *Axiochos* the word is found as the epithet of *ἀλήθεια*, with doubtful meaning; but this dialogue, falsely ascribed to Plato, may be as late as the third century A.D.

Our present passage is earnestly religious. How can we suppose that Aeschylus, more versed in and more heedful of the religious terms of the current speech and faith than perhaps any other poet, would forget the proper ritual sense of the word? Wilamowitz appears rightly to insist that we must explain Ζεὺς *ἀμφιθαλὴς* on the analogy of *παῖς ἀμφιθαλὴς*. And Blass pathetically reproaches him for doing so 'ohne für dieses Stelle ein klares Verständniss zu erreichen.' Whether Wilamowitz could explain it to Blass or to Verrall or the others, I do not know. But Tucker begins to see light, and from the point of view of religion his note is the best he has written in his com-

mentary; he Ζεὺς πατρῶς 'as the god' is Ζεὺς ἀμφι- ness that h law. Most o permanent q fact in the γιγαντοφόνος a boy with f god; and if immortal, it here belongs ferred from curious moti compulsion. *ἰκέσιος* is no Aeschylus at tion gives h seems that wretched Ixi 'wandering' indeed a gr Dind.). Ze nor was he could invok kinsman. T but is certa using the e compel God his own nee spell-prayer from commu Zeus Sinner 'Αμφιθαλὴς. non. Let h would have struck with myth of Her religious ser that this is the Girl (πα Hera the W feeling unde

mentary; he begins indeed wrongly—'ἀμφιθαλής = the god of both parents . . . Ζεὺς πατρῶος καὶ μητρῶος'—but immediately he comes near to the truth 'as the god of the suppliant is Ζεὺς Ἀφίκτωρ, so the god of the ἀμφιθαλής is Ζεὺς ἀμφιθαλής.' He leaves it there, and shows no clear consciousness that he is dealing with a remarkable illustration of a remarkable law. Most divine epithets in Greek as in other religions express either some permanent quality or power of the deity, Ζεὺς ἰκέσιος, Ζεὺς ὄμβριος, or some fact in the religious history or myth concerning him or her, e.g. Ζεὺς ἡγαντοφόνος. Now Zeus is not ἀμφιθαλής, as here invoked, because he is a boy with father and mother still living. He is not here invoked as a boy-god; and if he happened to have his father still alive, who was unfortunately immortal, it was not the fault of Zeus that this was so. In fact ἀμφιθαλής here belongs to a small class of divine appellatives, which are directly transferred from the worshipper, to whom they properly belong, to the deity by a curious motive of religious magic, so as to make the invocation stronger in its compulsion. Zeus is of course in his own self no suppliant, and to call him ἰκέσιος is not to call him one; but to call him ἱκτωρ ἀφίκτωρ ἰκέτης is: and Aeschylus attaches the first two epithets to him and a Spartan archaic inscription gives him the third. Zeus is no ἀλάστορος, a miserable sinner, yet it seems that Aeschylus dared to call him so for Ixion's sake, because the wretched Ixion wanted special aid from him, and being himself ἀλάστορος, a 'wandering' wretched murderer, he calls Ζεὺς πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος (unless indeed a grammarian in Cramer's *Anecd.* is fooling us, vide Aesch. *Fr.* 90 Dind.). Zeus was no farmer, but an Attic inscription calls him Γεωργός: nor was he anybody's and everybody's kinsman, yet any injured kinsman could invoke Ζεὺς ὁμόγμιος or Ζεὺς σύναιμος, calling literally on Zeus the kinsman. These are a few instances—of which the number might be increased, but is certainly not large—of a Greek psychical magico-religious law. By using the exact word in an invocation or prayer the Greek felt he could compel God: by a daring magic transference of his own self, his own condition, his own need to the god, he could evoke between him and the object of his spell-prayer a temporary communion and the sympathetic help that comes from communion. Thus the suppliant calls on Zeus Suppliant, the sinner on Zeus Sinner, the farmer on Zeus Farmer, the παῖς ἀμφιθαλής on Ζεὺς Ἀμφιθαλής. Aegisthos had injured the παῖς ἀμφιθαλής by killing Agamemnon. Let him dread the wrath of Ζεὺς Ἀμφιθαλής on whom young Orestes would have cried beforehand to save his father, if he could. Long ago I was struck with the Arcadian cult-epithet of Hera χήρα—and I explained it by a myth of Hera living divorced from Zeus which might have been reflected in a religious service (vide my *Cults* i. p. 191). But it occurs to me as possible now that this is again an instance of our law: and that as the girls prayed to Hera the Girl (παῖς), the married woman to Ἥρα Τελέια, so the widows prayed to Hera the Widow, without asking whether Hera was a widow. The general feeling underlying this law we find in Christianity, but no other religion with

which I am familiar furnishes examples of such a phenomenal religious invocation as Zeus the Suppliant, Hera the Widow, Zeus 'Αμφιθαλής.

484. *παρ' εὐδείπνοις*, etc.

The MS. reading, which was also that of the Scholiast's, *ἐν πυροῖσι*, is regarded as impossible, for the plural *πυρά* is only used for watchfires, and is universally emended to *ἐμπύροισι* (the Aeschylean text no doubt writing *ἐμ* for *ἐν*). But I find the whole phrase unsatisfactory. In regard to the first part of the sentence we shall do well to follow, as Tucker does, the interpretation of the Scholiast: 'among the well-feasted ghosts thou shalt be dishonoured'; for *εὐδείπνοις*, apart from being so far distant from *ἐμπύροισι*, makes an unlikely epithet for such a noun, and we may dismiss Hesychius' note on *εὐδείπνα*· *θυσία τις Ἀθήνησι* . . . *καὶ αἱ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερομένοι σπονδαί, ἡγουν χοαί* as valueless for this passage, for it is probably a fictitious commentary on this passage itself—feasts at Athens were not called by such naïve names as 'a good dinner.' By following the Scholiast then we get a good and strong sense for *παρ' εὐδείπνοις ἔση ἄτιμος*. But when we come to *ἐμπύροισι κλισωτοῖς χθονός*, difficulties, hitherto unrealized, seem to multiply as we analyze it by the test of real Attic religious terminology. But first as to the grammar: what sort of dative can the isolated *ἐμπύροισι* be? a dative of occasion, says Tucker, quoting *δείπνοις*, *Θεσμοφορίοις*, *μυστηρίοις*, *τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς*, *τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι*. But all these datives of occasion are found in words denoting not, a single concrete thing or set of such things, but processes, periods, continuous actions, generally of abstract quality; the Greeks could not say '*ἀρτη*' 'on the occasion of bread' or '*οἶνω*' 'at wine'; nor could they say *ἐμπύροισι*, any more than we could say 'at a mutton-chop' 'at a thigh-bone'; for *ἔμπυρα* does not mean 'the sacrifice of mutton-chops, thigh-bones, entrails etc.,' as Tucker insinuates, but just these things themselves laid in the flame of the altar. Also though the Greek could say *θύσιναι χθονός*, *βωμοὶ χθονός*, he would not be likely to say the *ἔμπυρα χθονός*, 'the thigh-bones, entrails, etc. of the land.' And when Tucker, perhaps conscious of this, tries to suggest another meaning, 'burnt-offerings paid to Mother-Earth,' he is ignorant apparently that *χθών* is not a personage of ritual at all, and cannot take the ritual place of *Ge* as a receiver of offerings. Again, I doubt if *ἔμπυρα* would be called *κλισωτά*, as we may speak of a smoking mutton-chop; for it is natural to regard *κλισωτά* as in meaning the passive adjective of *κλισάω*, Aeschylus choosing to invent *κλισωτός* from an imaginary *κλισώ* rather than *κλισητός* from the existing *κλισάω*; but the accusative after *κλισάω* is not the thing cooked, but the place where the smoke was produced; thus *κλισᾶν ἀγνιάς*, *κλισᾶν βωμόν*. We may emend the MS. to avoid all these difficulties; if there is an error in two words, it may be in the second rather than the first, and we want the preposition *ἐν*. I propose *ἐν πυραῖσι* for *ἐν πυροῖσι*. *Πυρά* is the orthodox and regular word for the oblong altar-table on which burnt-offerings to a god or hero are laid, occurring in inscriptions

and in Attic in the court *Electra*, 92, is here in place of his father Agamemnon was invited *κλισωταῖς*, w the well-feast the land.'

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and in Attic tragedy: Apollo's altar in the *Ion*. 1258 is *πυρά*: the altar of Zeus in the courtyard is the *έρκεῖος πυρά* in the *Troades* 483; and twice in the *Electra*, 92, 325, Euripides calls the tomb of Agamemnon a *πυρά*. The plural is here in place, because Orestes is thinking not only of a future *πυρά* in honour of his father but of all the *πυραί* of the various deities where naturally Agamemnon ought to be invited to come and partake, as the ghost of Pindar was invited to the altar of Apollo at Delphi: and now, reading *ἐν πυραΐσι κλισωταῖς*, we get a simple strong Aeschylean religious phrase; 'by the side of the well-feasted souls thou shalt have no honour on the smoking altar-tables of the land.'

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806. τὸ δὲ καλῶς κταμενον MS.

The right view of this passage has been taken by many modern commentators, such as Paley, Blaydes and Tucker; but the wrong view is still possible, as we see in Verrall's commentary and in an article by Oppé in the *Hellenic Journal* 1904 on 'the chasm at Delphi.' I only cite the passage as a good example of the havoc that may be wrought by interpreters who have no trained imagination of the popular religious feeling. With the MS. reading

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κταμενον, which no one except Verrall can translate or endure, and for which the emendation *κτίμενον* is generally accepted, I am not directly concerned. The important question here is—who is the god invoked? Verrall and Oppé maintain that it is Hades. Against this there are these two considerations: *στόμιον* is a cleft of the earth, such as a cavern; Hades is not usually regarded as dwelling in a cavern, but far underground and *μέγα στόμιον* could not be a vague description of the whole underground world: secondly, and this is the fatal objection, no Greek could conceivably pray to Hades for light and liberty, any more than he could invite Hades to take part in a merry choral dance. Compare the other passages in the dramatists where Hades is invoked: such are *Pers.* 649, where the dark god is prayed to send up the ghost of Darius—or *Antigone* 543, 1200 where he is appealed to in the matter of the burying of Polyneikes. Matters concerning ghosts, burial, and the vengeance of the dead are the special occasions for his invocation: he could send up a ghost with a vengeance, but he could not send up light. The natural god to pray to for light and liberty is Apollo, who is here badly wanted. Nor need Oppé have been disturbed about the fate of his theory, which is that no early writer mentions any cavern in the temple of Delphi itself: for *μέγα στόμιον* does not refer to the temple, but to the whole of Delphi with the famous cavern of Kastalia.

985. 'Ἄλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε.

I cannot but feel that Tucker commits here a serious error in religious exegesis, marring the sublimity of this great passage, which for a certain sombre beauty is perhaps unique in any tragedy. In certain moments of great

exaltation, in the taking of the most solemn oath or in the most moving appeal to the divine powers, the Greek was wont to revert to those elemental forces of earth and sun that had generally faded before the personal figures of polytheism. Therefore Ge and Helios are so frequently named in the formula of the oath; and Helios had specially the function of the righteous judge and witness, like Shamash of Babylon. Orestes could do no more natural, no stronger thing, than to reveal to the light of the sun the blood-stained robe, and call on Helios to be his witness. Yet because in the actual trial that follows, Helios naturally did not come on as witness but Apollo does, Tucker maintains that here Helios means Apollo; and he adds that the identification of the two divinities (on occasion) is practically certain for Aeschylus. But when one examines his 'occasions' we find him wrong at every point. Aeschylus himself never comes near identifying Helios with Apollo,¹ nor did the Athenians of his period, as a study of the cult-facts sufficiently proves. Euripides is our first witness for this identification, which he tells us was a favourite dogma of the σοφοί. If Aeschylus had here tried to play the σοφός, we should have lost one of the greatest utterances of his poetic inspiration.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

¹ A fragment of the *Xantriai* seems to identify Artemis with the moon; but it would be shallow to argue that he therefore identifies Apollo with the sun (vide my *Cults* ii. p. 460).

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ASTROLOGY IN DRACONTIVS.

Nec, si rationem siderum ignoret, poetas intellegat said Quintilian of Γραμματικῇ; and in the history of scholarship during the last two centuries there is much to confirm his sentence. The elements of astronomy were once part of a scholar's ordinary equipment, and astronomical allusions in the poets, if expounded at all and not left by the editor to the knowledge and intelligence of the reader, were usually expounded aright. The first three lines of Lucan's seventh book are briefly but correctly explained by the scholiast, and Oudendorp so late as 1728 was content to quote his explanation: then Cortius and Burmann and Bentley came forward to misinterpret them, and they have been misinterpreted ever since, because editors of the classics no longer know which way the sun moves.

segnior Oceano quam lex aeterna uocabat
luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra
egit equos cursumque polo rapiente retorsit.

'contra orientem enim currit, sed orbis uertigine rapitur, ut cum eo ire uideatur' schol. The sun's proper motion is from west to east, and in that direction he circles the zodiac once a twelvemonth. The motion which carries him over our heads from east to west once every twenty-four hours is not his motion but the sky's: he meanwhile, like a fly on a wheel, crawls feebly the other way. On the morning of Pharsalia, desiring not to rise, he took the obvious course of accelerating this regression; and if he could have multiplied his customary pace by 365½ he would have attained his object, and Pharsalia would have been fought in the dark if fought at all. But the task excelled his power, and eternal law had her way in the long run.

On the other hand it cannot fairly be asked of a grammarian that he should encumber his mind with a knowledge of that intricate fraud by which Asia revenged herself on Europe for the conquests of Alexander. To deal with an astrological author he must of course lay in a large stock of obsolete misinformation; though indeed I can hardly say *must*, when two scholars within the last ten years have undertaken to edit Manilius without so much as learning the difference between a horoscope and a chronocrator. But in the main body of Latin literature allusions to astrology are neither frequent nor for the most part abstruse; and a scholar of to-day may well plead that he has

no time to spare for the fantasies which amused the abundant leisure of Chaldaea. Nevertheless obscurities of this nature continually cause trouble here and there; and among them are two passages in the secular poems of Dracontius. Had those works been discovered in the 17th century, when the mind of Europe still sat by the waters of Babylon, these verses would have been widely understood not only by scholars but by laymen, and Dryden, for instance, would have seen their drift almost as soon as Salmasius. But a century like the 19th was no favourable season for their interpretation or correction.

In the poem *de mensibus* (Vollmer p. 227, *anth. Lat.* Ries. 874^a, *P.L.M.* Baehr. V p. 215) the following distich describes the month of July:

humida dant siccas messes domicilia Lunae :
fontanas exhaurit aquas, ut Nilus inundet.

13

'13 obscurus' is Mr Riese's note in 1906, and Mr J. Ziehen in 1909, *Neue Studien zur Lat. Anthologie* p. 33, speaks of 'der in der Überlieferung verderbte u. 13, den Riese mit Recht als "obscurus" bezeichnet', says that 'die Heilung der Stelle ist äusserst schwierig', and proposes 'in Ermangelung von Besserem' a conjecture which I will not report.

During the first three weeks of July the Sun is in Cancer, and under that sign the corn is reaped: *anth. Lat.* 640 (Auson. 382, Peip. p. 102) 7 'solstitio ardentis Cancrī fert Iulius astrum', 864 (*P.L.M.* V p. 379) 3 'Iulius aestivas Cancro secāt altus aristas', 395 (*P.L.M.* I p. 208) 25-8 'ecce coloratos ostentat Iulius artus, | crines cui rutilos spīcea sēta ligat. | morus sanguineos praebet gravidata racemos, | quae medio Cancrī sidere laeta uiret'. Now it is a commonplace of astrology that Cancer is the house of the Moon: I might quote two hundred passages but I will quote two, Sext. emp. *πρὸς ἀστρ.* 34 οἶκος δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἡλίου μὲν Λέων, Σελήνης δὲ Καρκίνος, schol. German. Breys. p. 223 21 'domus Solis est Leo, Lunae Cancer'. Poets, so well was this known, could use the periphrasis at will without fear of misapprehension: when Manetho II 363 says ἐν δ' οἴκῳ Μήνης, that means ἐν Καρκίνῳ; and when pseudo-Manetho V 253 says Ἡελίου οἶκῳ, that is the same as II 342 Λέοντι, δόμῳ πανδερκέος Ἡελίοιο. Dracontius' next verse, 15, descriptive of August, is 'atria Solis habet, sed nomen Caesaris adfert', i.e. οἶκον Ἡλίου, the sign of Leo: *anth. Lat.* 640 8 'Augustum mensem Leo feruidus igne perurit', 864 4 'autumni caput Augustus parat ore Leonis', Drac. *delib. Achill.* 21 sq. 'signa Leonis | Augusto quid mense parent'. Finally in *Med.* 400 Dracontius makes his heroine pray to the Moon as 'astrorum princeps . . . cui Cancer domus'.

Cancer, according to the astrologers (e.g. Ludw. Maxim. p. 106), is ἰδατώδης, ἔνυδρος, κάθυγρος, and is thus a suitable habitation for the Moon, herself a planet of moisture (e.g. *catal. cod. astrol. Gracc.* VII p. 222 20 φύσεώς ἐστιν ὑγρᾶς). Hence the epithet *humida*.

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NO. III.

It is while the Sun is in Cancer that the Nile begins to rise: Manil. III 634-6 'Nilusque tumescit in arua: | hic rerum status est, Cancrī cum sidere Phoebus | solstitium facit', Luc. X 234 sq. 'Cancroque suam torrente Syenen | iussus adest (Nilus)'. The theory here adopted by Dracontius is the theory maintained in the Aristotelian treatise *de inundatione Nili*,—that the moisture exhaled in summer from northern latitudes is carried south by the etesian winds and descends in rain on the mountains of Aethiopia, Europe meanwhile enjoying dry weather for its harvest. The subject of *exhaurit* is *Luna*; and it might seem that the Moon is here confused or identified with her house as in Maneth. II 396 *Μήνη μὲν Τιτάν, Μήνη δὲ γέγηθε Λέοντι*, where the context shows that *Μήνη* signifies *Μήνης οἶκος*, i.e. *Καρκίνος*. But probably this is not so, and the Moon herself is meant; for the moment of the Nile's rise was supposed to coincide with the first new moon after the solstice: Plin. *n. h.* V 57 '(Nilus) incipit crescere luna noua, quaecumque post solstitium est, sensim modiceque Cancrum sole tenente, abundantissime autem Leonem', comm. Ptol. *tetr.* ed. Basil. 1559 p. 77 *καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὕτη ἐσπουδάζετο ἡ νομηνία* (sc. *ἡ ἐν τῷ Καρκίνῳ*)· *τότε γὰρ ὁ Νεῖλος ὁ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος πληθύνει*.¹ Hence the particular mention of '*fontanas aquas*': Plin. *n. h.* II 223 '(ferunt) in dulcibus aquis Lunae alimentum esse, sicut in marinis Solis'.

Cancer and the Moon recur in a passage which I have already mentioned, *Medea* 396-403.

astrorum princeps, signorum gratia fulgens
et caeli stellantis honos, caliginis hostis
ac nocturnorum triplex regina polorum
atque tenebrarum splendens patrona mearum,
cui Cancer domus<est>, ora clarissima mundi, 400
brachia contorquens stellis, quae mense peragras
quod Phoebus radians toto uix explicat anno,
corporis et dominam uerax quam turba fatetur.

Here the allusion is a little more recondite, and the text must be corrected before it can be explained. Baehrens wrote '*domus articulo clarissima mundi*': he was wrong, but not far wrong in point of sense; and such an error is better than printing gibberish as if it meant something, and as if you knew what it meant.

One of the titles of Cancer is *ὠροσκόπος κόσμος*: Heph. Theb. I 1 (ed. Engelbrecht p. 52 6), Vett. Val. I 2 (ed. Kroll p. 8 31), *C.C.A.G.* VII p. 199 23; Paul. Alex. fol. A 3 *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ζῳδίῳ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ὠροσκόπος*. The world, you must know, was created one fine morning early in

¹ One can hardly glance at a Greek astrological text without seeing something that wants correction: 4 in the next line and 5 a dozen lines above

ought both to be *w*, and in the words preceding my citation the *γάρ* should be deleted and the stop removed from *πασῶν* to *ζῳδίου*.

August, about an hour before sunrise, when the horoscope or ascendant or eastern point of the zodiac was in the 15th degree of Cancer. Instead of *ῥοσκοπός* or *ῥονόμος* the Greek astrological poets often say *ῥῆ*, as for instance Dorotheus (*C.C.A.G.* VI pp. 91-113) 97, 102, 185, 292, 304; in Manetho indeed *ῥῆ* oftener has this sense than any other,¹ though the usage is not recorded in Stephanus or Liddell and Scott. In Latin *hora* is thus employed as early as Sen. *apocol.* 3 2 'patere mathematicos aliquando uerum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps factus est, omnibus annis, omnibus mensibus efferunt. et tamen non est mirum si errant et *horam* eius nemo nouit; nemo enim umquam illum natum putauit', and is several times so used by Firmicus, *math.* III 4 27, 5 35, IV 20 7, 22 4 (twice); but I quote III 1 1, because there his subject is the geniture of the world, *thema mundi*, and the part which Cancer played in it: 'Petosiris et Nechepso . . . constituerunt . . . *horam* in Cancrī parte xv'. Now for many scribes of the middle ages the distinction observed by ancients and moderns between *hora* and *ora* did not exist; both words were spelt both ways, and in the MSS of Manilius, for example, the wrong spellings are commoner than the right. The *ora* of u. 400 is *hora*.

cui Cancer domus est, hora clarissima mundi,
bracchia contorquens stellis.

Dracontius does not hesitate to lengthen a short final syllable before a pair of consonants; though it is conceivable that the words are to be construed 'horā mundi (i.e. in hora mundi positus) bracchia stellis clarissima contorquens'. For *Cancer bracchia contorquens* (Duhn by his punctuation refers these last words to the Moon) see Ouid. *met.* II 83 'curuantem bracchia Cancrum' and Sen. *Thy.* 854 'curui bracchia Cancrī'.

There is more astrology in u. 403. The Moon is *corporis domina*, while the Sun presides over life and the soul: Macrobian. *sat.* I 19 17 'Luna . . . corporum praesul', Firm. *math.* IV 1 1 'omnis enim substantia humani corporis ad istius pertinet numinis potestatem', comm. Ptol. p. 140 τῇ Σελήνῃ, αὕτη γὰρ . . . τοῦ παντός σώματος ἐστὶ κυρία. At u. 540 Medea's maternal solicitude for the future of the children whom she is about to murder finds utterance in this supplication, 'accipe, Sol radians, animas, tu corpora, Luna'.

On the corruptions of Dracontius' text in general it is not my purpose to speak; but one passage which has nothing to do with astrology is so maltreated by the editors and yet so easy to correct that I append it here. *Orest. trag.* 462-470 should be written as follows.

¹ Rigler's index is so defective that I give here the instances which I have noted, omitting all places where the noun has an epithet serving to define it, such as *βροτῆν, γενίμην, βιοσκοπός, τεκνοσκόπος*. III 32, 90, 158, 186, 190, 194, 208,

415; VI 23, 27, 36, 38, 60, 84, 95, 103, 106, 151, 172, 173, 315, 355, 380, 480, 556, 561, 649, 666, 716, 747; IV 28, 110, 165; I 267; V 27, 28, 314, 321.

optime rex quondam sed nunc miserabilis umbra,
 prosperitas cui saeua fuit, uictoria crimen
 intulit et mortem peperit post bella triumphus,
 cuius adoratus constat per templa precantis
 iratos audisse deos, placata negabant
 numina prouentus : Danaos si uinceret Hector !
 si gremio Paridis remaneret rapta Lacaena !
 nonne laborasti Helenam ne pastor haberet ?
 ecce tuam nunc pastor habet !

465

470

467 *uinceret Hector*] *uincere tecta* B. 468 *remaneret*] *remanes et* B. 469
laborasti] *laboratis* B. In 467 and 468 *si* means *utinam*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON OVID FASTI VI. 263 SQQ.

ON November 8, 1894, I read before the Cambridge Philological Society a paper in which the reading and the interpretation of this passage were discussed at length. A brief report of the paper was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society, Nos. 37-39, p. 16; and the cardinal correction (in v. 274) was received into the text of the *Fasti* which Professor G. A. Davies published in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. The *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* are indeed now among the periodical publications of which the *Bibliotheca Philologica Classica* takes account: but an acquaintance with their earlier numbers is the privilege of the elect, and the sole mention of the correction that I have seen is an entry in the diligent summary of Ovidian literature in the *Jahresbericht* vol. 109 p. 282 which runs as follows 'VI 247 ut tangat (=Text; st. et t. unnötig¹).' Whether the correction is 'needless' is not for me to say; but there is excuse for thinking that those who wish to form a judgment on its character will not deem it needless to have the evidence before them.

hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet atria Vestae,
tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.
forma tamen templi, quae nunc manet, ante fuisse 265
dicitur. et formae causa probanda subest.
Vesta eadem, quae terra. subest uigil ignis utrique.
significant sedem terra focusque suam.
terra pilae similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
aere subiecto tam graue pendet onus. 270
ipsa uolubilitas libratum sustinet orbem,
quique premat partes, angulus omnis abest.

¹ My italics. I will take the opportunity of enlightening the summarizer as to the meaning of another of my emendations in the *Fasti*. On IV 799 sq. 'an magis hunc morem pietas Aeneia fecit, | innocuum victor cui dedit ignis iter?' where the MSS. have *victor* he asks 'Was heisst *victor ignis*?' What it means will be seen from I 523 sqq. 'uicta tamen uincens euersaque Troia resurgens: | obruit hostiles ista ruina domos. | urite *uictrices* Neptunia Pergama flammæ: | num minus hic toto est altior orbe cinis? | iam *pius* Aeneas sacra et sacra altera patrem | adferet;

Iliacos accipe, Vesta, deos?' The same idea of the flames being defeated in the hour of victory is to be seen in Manilius IV 32 sqq. 'an, nisi fata darent leges uitaeque necisque, | fugissent ignes Aeneam, Troia sub uno | non euersa uiro factis uicisset in ipsis?' It is perhaps needful to add that it was not Aeneas who was 'conquered' but the Trojans. From Aeneas, as Manilius puts it, the fires 'ran away.' [For *victor* applied to *ignis* Mr. Housman refers me to *Verg. Georg. II.* 307.]

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cumque sit in media rerum regione locata,
 et tangat nullum plusue minusus latus,
 ni conuexa foret, parti uicinior esset, 275
 nec medium terram mundus haberet onus.
 arte Syracosia suspensus in aere clauso
 stat globus, immensi parua figura poli:
 et quantum a summis, tantum secessit ab imis
 terra. quod ut fiat, forma rotunda facit. 280
 par facies templi. nullus procurrit in illo
 angulus. a pluuiis uindicat imbre tholus.

I have printed the passage above in the form which is attested by the manuscripts. But in the leading edition of the *Fasti* (H. Peter, 1889) it is corrupted in the following ways. Line 268 appears in the following shape 'significantque deam templa focusque suam,' lines 271-6 are bracketed as spurious with Merkel and lines 277-8 with Bentley.

In the critical appendix (p. 94) some arguments are advanced for the athetizing of these lines which must be examined in detail. 1. It is said that the argumentation in them is confused. This is true; but excision is not the remedy. 2. It is said that 'the reference of *locata* in line 273 over the head of *angulus*, *orbis*, and *uolubilitas* is at least harsh.' 'Harsh' it may be, but it is pedantic to suggest that it is obscure. The subject to Ovid and to all his readers who are not in quest of objections is *terra* and *locata* is, as a matter of fact, clearer than *locatus* which would at first sight be referred to the *angulus* immediately preceding. It is not difficult to find instances both in Greek and Latin where the real subject dominates the gender. Two are enough to quote; σφραγίδια λίθινα δύο, χρυσοῦν ἔχον τὸν δακτύλιον ἡ δ' ἀργυροῦν C. I. A. II 652 A 45, 'fulgit item cum rarescunt quoque *nubila* caeli; | nam cum uentus *eas* leuiter diducit' Lucr. VI 214 sq. (cf. Munro on ib. 188, Brieger Lucr. *praef.* p. xix. 3. It is said that '*uolubilitas* can only refer to the revolution (Umschwung) of the earth, whereas it is the revolution of the universe that is taken to be the cause of the earth's remaining in suspension.' But *uolubilitas* does not mean 'revolution' but 'capability of revolving,' that is 'rotundity,' (*forma rotunda* v. 280). Ovid would doubtless have used *rotunditas* if *rotunditas* would have come into his verse. 4. Peter next urges that the universe is not properly discriminated from the earth, since *partes* in 272 refers to the earth, but *latus* in 274 and *parti* in 275 to the world. I see small obscurity here either; but if there is any, the Latin words for 'parts' available to Ovid were few. What would Peter himself have used? 5. 'The reader expects that *terra* in 280 should refer to the real earth, not to that in Archimedes' Sphere.' I do not know why the reader expects it. It is not like Ovid to leave his illustrations incomplete; and the sole point of the citation of Archimedes' model here is to illustrate the place of the earth. 6. Merkel's strongest argument: 271-6 are omitted in nearly all the best MSS. But they

are in the Vrsinianus which all recent editors allow to be an authority for the text; and the reason of their omission in the rest is clear, the homoiographon *onus* at the end of 270 and 276. If they are an interpolation, how came the interpolator to pitch upon the exact ending for 276 which might both explain and produce this omission from the text? 7. 'The omission makes *et quantum* follow excellently on 270.' Is it part of this 'excellence' that *terra* in 269 will then be repeated by a *terra* three lines below, for which most people would have expected or preferred an *illa*? 8. 'The source of the interpolation is probably Lactantius *Inst.* III 24.' This passage is quoted below, and the reader may compare the diction of the two places and judge himself of the 'probability.'

The object of the poet in our passage is to account for the peculiar shape of the temple of Vesta, for which he says he can give a *causa probanda*. The temple is round because the earth is round; 269 '*terra pilae similis*,' 281 '*par facies templi*.' But he does not stop with this. He inquires further *why* the earth is round. This question and its answer are implicit even in 279, 280 which Peter cannot refuse to accept. It is the round shape of the earth which ensures its equidistance from every part of the universe. And with this question lines 271-6 explicitly deal: but in their traditional form they deal with it unsatisfactorily. To say 'The earth is round and its round shape keeps it in its place and,' since it is placed in the centre, being nearer neither to one side nor another ('*et tangat nullum plusue minusue latus*'), were it not round, it would be nearer to one side than another and it would not be at the centre' is to talk incoherently. You cannot assume the earth to be no nearer to one side of the universe than to another and in that same breath consider the hypothesis of its being thus nearer. But the insignificant alteration that I have proposed will set this right. For *et* in 274 read *ut* and all difficulty disappears. 'The earth was designed to be the centre of all things. It has been placed (the perfect *locata sit* has its proper force) at the central point of space that it might not be nearer to one part than to another, and therefore it must be spherical. For if it were not, if it were an unsymmetrical figure, such as a pyramid, it would be nearer to some one side than to another and it would not be a true centre to the universe.' The argument is substantially the same as that of the words in italics in the passage of Lactantius by which the correction is egregiously confirmed.

existimauerunt rotundum esse mundum, sicut pilam, et ex motu siderum opinati sunt, caelum uolui; sic astra solemque cum occiderint uolubilitate ipsa mundi ad ortum referri. itaque et aereos orbes fabricati sunt, quasi ad figuram mundi, eosque caelarunt portentosis quibusdam simulacris quae astra esse dicerent. hanc igitur caeli rotunditatem illud sequebatur ut terra in medio sinu esset inclusa. *quod si ita esset, etiam ipsam terram globo similem, neque enim fieri posset ut non esset rotundum quod rotundo conclusum teneretur.*

That is: 'The universe is a sphere and the earth is at its centre; and therefore the earth is a sphere. For that must be a sphere which is held and encircled

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by a sphere.' This is Ovid's argument here, except that he does not specifically state that the universe is spherical.

Now that the argument of the passage is clear, we may deal with some difficulties of expression. In 267 sq. Ovid gives two reasons for the identity of Vesta and Earth. The first is the ever-living fire (sacrificial and subterranean) that is housed by both. The second is the similarity of shape, the rotundity of both earth and temple: and the pertinence of this must appear in the pentameter. Unfortunately more than one cause has prevented it from being visible. The first is the failure of the editors to observe that *focus* is here what is generally called a proper name, i.e. that it is Vesta or the Vesta-Temple. Peter indeed recognizes that it 'vielfach prägnant den Herd oder das Feuer der Vesta bedeutet z. B. Propert. V (IV) 11. 54).' But far better evidence of this use is furnished by a line a little further on, which he leaves without explanation and which some editors grossly misunderstand.

stat ui TERRA sua: ui stando VESTA uocatur,
causaque par Grai nominis esse potest.
at focvs a flammis et quod fouet omnia dictus
qui tamen in primis aedibus ante fuit.

300

Line 301 can only be understood by those who have forced themselves to realize that the sharp distinction which we mark by the use of capital initials for proper names did not exist for the ancients. The line now before us means that the Hearth (*Focus* if you like) i.e. the Vesta-temple is so named from the ordinary hearth *on which are flames* and is also derived from *fouere*. This is no doubt puzzling till we reflect that he could not have said 'Hearth is named from hearth'; but it is no excuse for the commentator who tells schoolboys that Ovid derives *focus* from *flamma*.

Terra Focusque in line 268 is then the Terra-Vesta being of double name, and *sedem suam* means the proper place of this being, that is the centre of the universe. *Significant* is used in a way for which I have no exact parallel to offer, though it is not a great extension of the general use of the word. We may paraphrase by converting it into 'signa dant sedis suae,' that is she intimates her position, the *signa* given being the rotundity of both earth and temple.

We must make no concession to a modern reader's feelings. He has to accommodate them to the ancient standpoint as best he can. But if certain variants in the MSS. are to be allotted any significance, it is possible that on that ground we should read 'Vesta eadem *es* quae Terra' and in the pentameter *tuam*, an old conjecture of Merkel. The argument will be unaffected.

As the passage has been so much misunderstood, I subjoin a translation which will, I trust, remove any doubt about the details of my interpretation:

Over this little spot, which now supports the hall of Vesta, was then the great palace of long-haired Numa. The temple's shape how-

ever is said to have been in former times such as it now remains. And there is a good reason underlying this shape. Vesta is the same as Earth. Both shelter unslumbering fires; and on Earth, as on Hearth, is the mark of their place in the world. The Earth, like a ball, with nothing to support it, has its heavy mass poised on the air below.¹ Its very rotundity keeps the globe in equilibrium: it has no corners to depress any one of its parts. Again it has been placed in the central region of all things that it may touch no side more or less than another, but were it not rounded, it would be nearer to one part than another, nor would the universe have the Earth as its central mass. (So by the Syracusan's skill a ball hangs stationary in imprisoned air,² a representation in miniature of the immeasurable firmament. Here the earth has been made as far removed from the top as from the bottom; and this is effected by its spherical form.) The configuration of the temple is similar. It has no projecting corners; and a dome protects it from the rainy shower.

¹ *subiecto*. The observer is supposed to be at the centre. Hence the *aer* which surrounds the earth is below it at every point.

² The words in *aere clauso* are naturally interpreted of the air inside the glass which according to Claudian *Carm. min.* 51. 1 'Iuppiter in faruo cum cerneret aethera uitro' enclosed the model. But inasmuch as some have supposed from the following lines 7, 8 'inclusus uariis famulatur spiritus auris | et uiuum certis motibus urget opus' that air (compressed) was the motive power employed, I think my readers may be glad to know the opinion of Professor Turner, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, upon this interesting point.

He writes: 'My own view is that it is in the highest degree improbable that air was used as a motive power in the model. Such orreries are always moved by hand—cog-wheel work and a handle in modern times; and in early times probably each piece separately turned by hand. It is even difficult to conceive how they could be moved by compressed air. The idea in the mind of Ovid must have been (in my humble opinion) that Archimedes had managed to support a globe by air pressure from below (and

all round it), which is impossible. In other words Ovid and other sightseers were deceived, or imperfectly remembered what they saw. If the globe was hung by a fine wire, or supported on a slender stem (as would be quite natural), it would be easy for a sightseer to overlook the wire and to think that the globe was hung in air. Especially if the glass cover was not easy to see through (? was glass very good in those days?). Moreover Archimedes, who doubtless believed the real Earth we live on to be supported on air in this way, may have exerted his well-known ingenuity to make the model appear so; e.g. he may have used a very fine wire intentionally. But in any case it must have been a "fake."'

The orrery of Archimedes is discussed by Sir G. C. Lewis, *Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 194, where besides the two verse passages already cited reference is made to Cic. *Rép.* i. 14, *N.D.* II. 35, Plutarch *Marcell.* 28, Val. Max. i. 1. 8, Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Dogm.* III. § 115 (Bekker), Lactantius *Div. Inst.* II. 5, and Martianus Capella VI. § 583 (ed. Kopp) and by the writers of the papers cited in Wissowa-Pauly's *Real-Encyclop.* under the article *Archimedes*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

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ON THE MEANING OF *POLOINVM*.

Catullus 97. 5-6.

dentis os sesquipedalis,
gingivas uero *ploxini* habet ueteris.
(*ploxini Festus, Mueller p. 230: plox(o)nio codd.*)

Catalepton 10. 21-23.

neque ulla uota semitalibus deis
sibi esse facta, praeter hoc nouissimum—
paterna lora *ploxinique* pectinem.

(*ploxinique scripsi: proximumque codd. buxinumque Salmassius*).

Quintilian I. 5. 8.

Catullus *ploxenum* circa Padum inuenit.

Festus (Muell.) p. 230.

ploxinum appellari ait Catullus capsum in cisio capsamue, cum dixit
'gingivas uero *ploxini* habet ueteris.'

Paulus ib. p. 231.

ploxinum capsam dixerunt.

Scaliger, on Festus *l.c.*, explains *ploxinum*=capsa as equivalent to the Homeric *πρίπυρ*, the carriage-basket, which was in fact the body, of the *ἀμαξα*—the motorist's 'chassis': and in this he seems to be followed by commentators upon Catullus generally. Ellis' note, Catull. 97. 6, does the best possible for this interpretation. But most readers of Catullus will still feel an uneasy suspicion that some finer point has become obscured.

Oscar Wilde somewhere describes one of his characters as 'looking like a badly-bound hymn-book': and of another character elsewhere he says that 'she looked like an édition-de-luxe of a French novel.' In both cases the point of the comparison (in the first, decayed and untidy piety; in the second, flaunting lasciviousness) is perfectly obvious. But when Catullus is made to

¹ My first correction was *ploxenum atque pectinem*. My present one coincides with one which I understand had already occurred to Dr. Postgate.

say that Aemilius has 'teeth six feet long and gums like those of an old carriage-frame,' the point of the comparison is so far from being perfectly obvious that what is perfectly obvious is that 'hymn-book,' or 'French novel,' or 'flying machine,' or any other *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν*, would be quite as appropriate as 'carriage-frame,' unless it could be shown either (a) that Aemilius has some peculiar connexion with carriages, or (b) that carriage-frames have teeth and gums, or something like them.

I will try to make it probable that carriage-frames—or at any rate *ploxina*—in the time of Catullus, and later, had teeth and gums. I hope to show at the same time that there is no new thing under the sun, and that the taximeter cab, which we still think something of a novelty in the streets of London, was a familiar object two thousand years ago on the muddy roads between Brescia and Mantua.

Festus identifies *ploxinum* with *capsa* (*capsus*) in cisio. *Capsus* is recognized as a (part of a) carriage by Isidore, *Orig.* XX. 12. 7, 'carruca undique contacta, quasi capsas.' Hesychius has an obscure note *καψοί· οἱ τοῖχοι*, where it would be possible, I suppose, to take *τοῖχοι* of the sides of a carriage (Salmasius here, however, connects *καψοί* with *κάπτω*). Suidas glosses *κάψα* by *κίστη ἢ θήκη*, which has, perhaps, no connexion with carriages at all. Walde derives the word from the root of *capiō*; A. Mau from that of *κάπτω* (*capsa* = *κάμψα*), in agreement perhaps with Scaliger's identification of *capsa* with *πείρις*. But more helpful than either the lexicographers or the philologists is a passage of Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 10. 14), of which I will give here the substance. 'Let your carriage,' says Vitruvius, 'have a wheel four feet in diameter, each revolution of the wheel thus covering twelve feet of ground. Fix to this wheel, on the inner side, a *tympanum*, a small drum-wheel, having on its circumference a single projecting tooth (*extantem denticulum unum*). Above this, fix on to the capsus a bracket (*loculamentum*) with a second *tympanum* perpendicular to the first (in *cultro collocatum*) having round its edges 400 teeth at regular intervals so arranged as to catch the tooth of the lower *tympanum*, as well as a single tooth projecting beyond these. Over this, on another bracket, fix horizontally (*planum*) yet another *tympanum* in such a way that its teeth catch the single projecting tooth of *tympanum* no. ii. ('Insuper autem ad capsus redae loculamentum firmiter figatur habens tympanum uersatile in cultro conlocatum et in axiculo conclusum: in cuius tympani fronte denticuli perficiantur aequaliter diuisi, numero CCCC, conuenientes denticulo tympani inferioris. Praeterea superiori tympano ad latus figatur alter denticulus prominens extra dentes. Super autem tympanum planum eadem ratione dentatum inclusum in altero loculamento conlocatur, conuenientibus dentibus denticulo qui in secundi tympani latere fuerit fixus.') The horizontal *tympanum* is to have a number of *foramina* in it each containing a pebble or counter (*calculus*): and its *loculamentum* or bracket is to have a single *foramen* with a pipe through which the pebbles, as they come to the single *foramen*, can drop 'in redae capsus et uas

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¹ Supp

aeneum quod erit suppositum?'¹ Vitruvius then goes on to calculate how, as the carriage-wheel drives round the three *tympana*, each of the pebbles discharged into the capsus will register a mile of journey. It is unnecessary that I should here set out this calculation.

This ingenious contrivance—the parent of the modern cyclometer, taxi-meter, speedometer—Vitruvius, in the age of Vergil, speaks of as 'rationem . . . a maioribus traditam.' It was no new thing: and carriages furnished with it would be familiar objects on the roads of Italy. I believe that it is these *dentata tympana* which Catullus has in mind when he speaks of Aemilius as having 'ginguas ueteris ploxeni.' These *dentata tympana* are, in Vitruvius, fastened to brackets which he calls *loculamenta*. Look now at Vegetius, *Ars Vet.* ii. 32 (p. 80 Basel 1574): '*loculamenta dentium, id est gingivae.*' What if the *loculamenta* of the Vitruvian carriage, these brackets with their long *dentes* and rows of *denticuli* (necessarily striking objects), were sometimes in vulgar speech known as *gingivae*?

If we turn now to *Catalepton* X., we find that the hero of that clever little piece, Sabinus, is the driver of a *cisium* (l. 3, 'uolantis impetum cisi'). We note in that connexion Festus' description of the ploxinum as 'capsus in *cisio*.' If my conjecture *ploxinique* in l. 23 is right, it would seem not unlikely that Festus actually had *Catalepton* X. in mind. Sabinus is described as *mulio celerrimus*. He is said to fly (uolantis 3, uolare 5). The speed is the whole man. At the close of his career as a driver, he offers to the 'di semitales' his 'hereditary reins' (paterna lora) and the *ploxini pecten*. By the *pecten* I understand the rows of *denticuli* in the *tympana dentata*: cf. Ovid *Met.* 6. 59 'perculo feriunt insecti *pectine dentes*': Prudentius (*περὶ Στεφ.* 14) actually uses *pecten dentium* of the rows of teeth in the mouth. Sabinus dedicates, in fact, his *speedometer*. What could a driver, whose glory was his speed, more appropriately offer to the gods of the roadside?

It would be tempting to identify the *ploxinum* with the speedometer itself—the mechanism as a whole. But it seems clear from Vitruvius that the *capsus*—with which Festus identifies *ploxinum*—was either, as Scaliger thinks, the body of the *cisium*, or else some kind of box carried at the side. Festus' identification may, of course, be false. But the consideration of the philology of the word *ploxinum* seems to point to its being something like the *περίπυρς*. The word is said by Quintilian to belong to the region of the Po: and most scholars are agreed in regarding it as Gallic. On the etymological question I consulted an authority on Celtic philology who was, as I understood him, not satisfied with the account given in Holder (*Alt-Keltische Sprachschatz* i. 1019—to which Walde refers us). Taking the word as *plōxenium* (not *plōxenium*: the quantity of the *o* could only be determined if it were somewhere found with the apex) he connected its first syllable with Celtic *plosc*, reduced to *losc*, 'which seems to occur in an Irish word *loscán*, "a sort of dray, or car without

¹ *Suppositum* means here, I think, not under the *capsus*, but under the pipe (*canaliculus*).

wheels, a sledge" (O'Reilly): the Scotch Gaelic is given as *losgann*. This suits well with the identification of *capsus* (= *ploxinum*) with *πελπυς*. *Ploxinum* will then be the body of the *cisium*. The *cisium* was a light carriage employed for speed; and it is perhaps not too much to suppose that, as a carriage for hire, it was (even usually) furnished with such a 'speedometer' as Vitruvius describes. Such phrases as *pecten ploxini*, *gingivae ploxini* would, in that case, be readily intelligible.

H. W. GARROD.

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GARROD.

CALLIMACHVS IAMBI 162-170.

THE following verses may be looked upon as an original composition rather than as a restoration, but perhaps they give something of the sense of the passage. Callimachus seems to have said that in the good old days of Cronus all animals alike could talk, as Babrius declares in his prologue; then quadrupeds were deprived of this faculty and birds were (in many cases at any rate) transformed into men, which is the reason that there is such a vast amount of superfluous talking among us.

δίκαιος ὁ Ζεὺς οὐ δίκαια δ' αἰσυνμῶν	162
τῶν ἐρπετῶν μὲν ἐξέκοψε τὸ φθέγμα,	
γένος δὲ τοῦτ' ἀνιγρὸν (ὥσπερ οὐ κάρτος	
ἡμέων ἐχόντων χητέροις ἀπάρξασθαι)	165
ἤμειψ' ἐς ἀνδρῶν· καὶ κενὸς φρενῶν δῆμος	
πλείω φιλόφον ψιττακοῦ λελήκασιν·	
οἱ δὲ τραγωδοὶ τῶν θάλασσαν οἰκεύντων	
ἔχουσι φωνήν· οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ	
καὶ πουλύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πεφύκασιν.	170

ὁ Ζεὺς and τὸ φθέγμα Housman, coll. Lucian *Jur. Trag.* 16 for ἐκκόπτω φθέγμα.

'Zeus though just himself ruled unjustly; he deprived quadrupeds of their voice, and turned this tiresome tribe of birds into that of men, as if we were not strong enough ourselves to give of our superfluity to others. Hence the empty-headed rabble scream worse than a greedy parrot, the tragedians wail like sea-mews, and all mankind chatter incessantly.'

There are several curiosities of expression in this; it is hard to believe in ἀπάρξασθαι, but there it is in the papyrus, and why is Zeus just while ruling unjustly? For ἀμείβω εἰς, 'transform into,' see Stephanus, where several instances are given, all from late writers; the best is Nonnus, *Dion.* ii. 124, ἐς Ἀρτεμιν εἶδος ἀμείψας. Or ἔλεψ', as we are talking of birds, would be more amusing; and even less convincing. φιλόφον is against the evidence of the papyrus, but how can φίλοφον fit in? The epithet just suits the bird. For θάλασσαν οἰκεύντων as applied to sea-gulls, Mr. Housman refers me to *frag.* III, ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰὼν | κύμασιν αἰθυῖης μᾶλλον ἐσφρίσαστο.

ARTHUR PLATT.

MR. AGAR'S HOMERICA. REPLY.¹

I AM afraid I have not made myself understood.

- (i) ι 209 ἐν δέπας ἐμπλήσας ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα
χεῦ'.

To gain support for his alteration of ὕδατος into ὕδωρ, Mr. Agar discusses the syntax of the whole line. He says that the view that δέπας is the object of χεῦ' 'leaves ὕδατος ἀνὰ εἴκοσι μέτρα without any suitable sense at all.' He therefore reads ὕδωρ as object. I remark that 'the sense of ἀνὰ is the same with ὕδωρ as with ὕδατος.' I mean that it is distributive in either case, and therefore does not recommend the alteration. I take the genitive ὕδατος to be partitive and directly dependent on χεῦ', like πάσσε δ' ἄλλος θεῖοιο.

- (ii) η 129 ἐν δὲ δύω κρήναι ἥ μὲν τ' ἀνὰ κῆπον ἄπαντα
σκιδναται, ἥ δ' ἐτέρωθεν ὑπ' αὐλῆς οὐδὸν ἵησι
πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλὸν, ὅθεν ὑδραίνοντο πολῖται.

Mr. Agar amends ι 31 into πρὸς δόμον ὑψηλοῦ, and then remarks that 'the accepted interpretation,' namely 'that the second spring flows beneath the courtyard wall, issues again in the centre of the courtyard and forms a piece of ornamental water there' is inconsistent both with the vulgate and with his emendation. He continues 'the fashion of forming artificial ponds, so much followed in later days, is scarcely likely to have been in vogue in primitive times.' I deny all this. Mr. Agar has set up a bogey, his 'ornamental water,' and then knocked it down, to the damage of the verse, which he proceeds on this ground to emend further. I conceive no reason why the κρήνη which the goodness of Alcinous provided for his people should not have flowed in his yard. Does Mr. Agar imagine the Mycenaean age too primitive for a fountain?

- (iii) ι 29 ἥ μὲν μ' αὐτόθ' ἔρυκε Καλυψώ, διὰ θεάων,
ἐν σπέεσι γλαφυροῖσι, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι.
ὥς δ' αὐτως Κίρκη κατερήγνεν ἐν μεγάροισι
Αἰαίη δολόεσσα, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι.

I say 'this verse [30] is absent in most MSS. Mr. Agar condemns it, but unable to do without it, composes another in its place. Its absence is

¹ See *Cl. Quarterly*, iv. pp. 58 sq.

due to homoeoteleuton with 32.' Mr. Agar did not really compose a new verse, he altered v. 29 into ἡ μὲν μ' ἄλλοθ' ἔρυνκε.

(iv) λ 600 κατὰ δ' ἰδρώς
 ἔρρεεν ἐκ μελέων, κοινή δ' ἐκ κρατὸς ὀρώρει.

In order to regard ἐκ κρατός as a 'wild corruption,' or to emend, as he prefers, ἄκρου δ' ἐκ κρατός, Mr. Agar sets up the usual view that κοινή means the dust of the stone, and when I point out that 'a loose boulder rolling down a hill does not produce dust' and that κοινή is Sisyphus' subtilized perspiration, he calls my view 'very odd and rather improbable.' The facts, I assure him, are as I state them. The steam of battle Mr. Andrew Lang tells me is noticed by Barbour in his Bruce. The only difficulty is the transference of a word meaning 'dust' to 'vapour'; the transference of course, is easy, cf. ομίχλη (κοιῆς—ομίχλην N 336), *nubes*, and Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* in v. 'Stew.'

(v) σ 158 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
κούρη Ἰακρίοιο περιφρονί Πηνελόπειῃ
μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι, ὅπως πετάσειε μάλιστα
θυμὸν μνηστήρων ἰδὲ τιμήσσεια γένοιτο
μᾶλλον πρὸς πόσιός τε καὶ νέος ἢ πάρος ἦεν.

Mr. Agar, doubting *πετάσειε*, writes *ἐτάσειε*. When I say, with some parallels, that tropically *πετάννυμι* means to 'excite,' and adduce the variant *θέλξειε*, he says 'every tiro knows that *θέλγω* means "to put an end to excitement," "to soothe," and not "to stimulate."' Really? I am afraid Homer is not even a tiro:

212 τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρω δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν,
πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παρὰ λεχεέσσι κλιθῆναι.

The first line gives the *θελκτήριον*, the second the *πέτασις*, and they are the same thing. And Pherecydes too, *Fr. 102 a* 'Ἀμφίον . . . κατέβηκε καὶ τοὺς λίθους ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὴν τειχοδομίαν αὐτομάτους ἐπέρχεσθαι.

(vi) δ q3 ὥς οὗτοι χαίρων τοῖσδε κτεάτεσσιν ἀνάσσω.

Mr. Agar wishes to excise this line, which he calls the 'real offender.' He adds that the author of the next line, 93a, 'seems to have seen through the smirking hypocrisy of l. 93, and his caustic addendum might have warned others and turned their suspicions in the right direction.' I say that to see hypocrisy in v. 93 betrays 'a fundamental misapprehension of heroic character,' and *therefore* there is in so far nothing to object to in the line. I may be wrong in my assertion, but this is my argument.

(vii) ζ 273 τῶν ἀλεείνω φῆμιν ἀδενκέα, μή τις ὀπίσσω
μωμεύη· μάλα δ' εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι κατὰ δῆμον·
καὶ νῦν τις ὧδ' εἴπησι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας.

All I say here is that when Mr. Agar says 'certainly such a punctuation' [as that here printed] 'fails to convey the least idea that μάλα—δῆμον is intended to be regarded as parenthetic,' he betrays an unfamiliarity with Greek punctuation. So he does. There is no way of indicating a parenthesis in Greek except by colons. Dashes are an invention of the modern printer, and worse than inverted commas, which have some kind of tradition.

(viii) σ 192 κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν
ἀμβροσίῳ.

In order to recommend his own invention κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα πρόσωφ' ἀπάλ' ἦκα κάθηρεν, which I may say without offence no one wants, Mr. Agar attacks first the meaning of κάλλει. The view that κάλλος here cannot mean 'beauty' I suppose rests on a disinclination to join an abstract noun with a concrete verb, and a disbelief that such a union was possible in Homer. There can be no other reason, for the scholiast's assertion νῦν τὰ μύρα is unsupported. To get round the objection I quote from the lexica Γ 392 κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν, ζ 237 κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων, which seem decisive, for it is no harder to say 'wash in immortal beauty' than 'glisten' or 'trickle with beauty and graces.' The objection appears to me another case of the tendency to make Homer, his age and his language, much too primitive.

T. W. ALLEN.

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NO. III. V

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

GENERAL.

Hermathena. Vol. 15. No. 35. 1909.

[*The Tercentenary of the Birth of Milton*, Clara Michell. A poem awarded the Vice-Chancellor's for English Verse 1908.] *Emendations in Cicero's Epistles*, T. G. Tucker. [Notes on the Architectural History of Trinity College, J. P. Mahaffy.] *A Fragment from Aristotle*, John I. Beare. A portion of his tract on Memory, in a form fitting it for comparison with the corresponding work of modern empirical psychologists. *Notes on the Nineteen Larger Declamations ascribed to Quintilian*, Robinson Ellis. *On a passage in Euripides' Hypsipyle*, J. P. Mahaffy. *The Latin Writers of Mediaeval Ireland*, Mario Esposito. Supplement to a paper in *Hermathena* 1907. *Analecta Varia*, the same. [O'Leary's Glossary (II.), E. J. Gwynn. *On Transfinite Numbers and some Problems relating to the Structure of Actual Space and Time*, Reginald A. P. Rogers.] *Corrections of Horace Satires Book II*, and an *Emendation of the Culex*, 368, J. P. Postgate. *Laud's Manuscript of Apuleius*, L. C. Purser. *Remarks on Tucker's Emendations in Cicero's Epistles*, R. Y. Tyrrell. Reviews, including long and detailed ones of Ellis's *Appendix Vergiliana* by L. C. P. and of Bywater's *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry* and Ross's *Metaphysics* by J. I. B.

Classical Philology. Vol. 4. No. 1. 1909.

Studies in the Grouping of Nouns in Plautus, Henry W. Prescott. *Finger-Counting among the Romans in the Fourth Century*, Edward A. Bechtel. *On Certain Supposed Literary Relationships*, I. Campbell Bonner. *The Book Division of Propertius*, B. L. Ullman. *The Verbal in -reo in Polybius*, Hamilton Ford Allen. *Studien zur Topographie von Paestum*, Th. Kluge. *An Archaic Boeotian Inscription*, Carl Darling Buck. Notes and Discussions. *On Thucydides II. 15. 4*, Paul Shorey. *Some Classical Quotations from the Middle Ages*, Tenney Frank. *Note on Eur. Alc. 290 ff.*, W. A. Heidel. *On the Hypothesis to Antiphon*, 28, F. M. Foster. *Note on Diogenes Laertius IV. 59*, Paul Shorey. Reviews.

No. 2.

The Archetype Codex of Valerius Maximus, W. M. Lindsay. *A Chapter in the Story of Roman Imperialism*, Tenney Frank. *The Iambic Trimeter in Menander*, John Williams White. *Lucian the Sophist*, Emily James Putnam. *The Literary Criticism in the Bibliotheca of Photius*, La Rue Van Hook. *Additions and Corrections to C. I. L.*, B. L. Ullman. *Obituary Notice*. John Henry Wright, B.P. Notes and Discussions. *Caesar's Battle with the Helvetians*, Walter Dennison. *Pliny Ep. II. 12. 4*, E. T. M. *On Aristotle De part an. IV. 15*, Paul Shorey. *Note on Polybius XXX. 23. 3*, Allan C. Johnson. Reviews.

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No. 3.

Vulgar Latin in the Ars Consentii de Barbarismis, Frank Frost Abbott. *The Influence of Meter on the Homeric Choice of Dissyllables*, John A. Scott. *The Temporal Cum-Clause and its Rivals*, J. J. Schlicher. *On Certain Supposed Literary Relationships*, II, Campbell Bonner. *The Use of the OE-Diphthong in Plautus*, Andrew W. Anderson. *The Latin Accusatives Med, Tēd, etc.*, Edwin W. Fay. Notes and Discussions. *The International Congress of Archaeologists*, C. L. Ransom. *The Simple Past Condition with Potential Indicative in Apodosis*, Grace Harriet Macurdy. *Propertius* II. xii. 18, J. S. Phillimore. KAOTONEYEIN, A. G. Laird. *Marginalia on the Hellenistic Poets*, Henry W. Prescott. EYTTENH 'OΦΘΑΜΟΣ, *Emendation of Crates epist. XIX*, Paul Shorey. Reviews.

No. 4.

Propertius and the Aræ Perusinae, A. L. Frothingham. *The Meanings of KYTOΣ*, James Turney Allen. *Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence*, E. K. Rand. *The Composition of the De Oratoribus Antiquis of Dionysius*, Ralph Hermon Tukey. *Studies in the MSS of the Third Decade of Livy*, F. W. Shipley. *The City of Seruius and the Pomerium*, Elmer Truesdell Merrill. Notes and Discussions. *Aeschylus Fr. 207 and the Satyr Chorus*, Paul Shorey. *Emendation of Augustine De Civ. Dei* II. 27, Tenney Frank. *Note to Iliad A 446*, John A. Scott. *The Archaic Boeotian Inscription again*, C. D. B. Short Index to vol. 4.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. 30. No. 1. 1909.

Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb, Third Article, Basil L. Gildersleeve. *On the text of Menander's Epitrepontes with notes on the Heros*, Edward Capps. *Aphrodite and the Dione Myth*, George Depue Hadzsits. *Propertius* III. 24, B. O. Foster. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* II, Harry Langford Wilson. *Effect of Sigmatism as shown in Homer*, John A. Scott. Reviews. *Schroeder's Mysterium and Mimos im Rigveda*, M. Bloomfield. *W. Thomson's Basis of English Rhythm etc.* and *Omond's Metrical Rhythm*, T. B. Rudmose-Brown. *Abicht's Herodotus*, G. E. Howes. *Summaries of Periodicals*. Brief mention: *Reik's Der Optativ bei Polybios und Philo von Alexandria*, *Schlachter's Statistical Studies on Greek tenses and moods*, *Moulton's Prolegomena to the Grammar of the New Testament*, *Osler's Counsels and Ideals*, *Rees' The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*, *Schroeder's text of Pindar and Krumbacher on a New Greek Thesaurus*, the Editor. *Traube's Zur Palaeographie und Handschriftenkunde*, G. L. H.

No. 2.

Synthesis Doliolorum Dresseliana, Edwin W. Fay. *On the Duenos Inscription. Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland*, Tenney Frank. *Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University* III., Harry Langford Wilson. *Duplication by Dissimilation (in Polynesian)*, William Churchill. *The Meaning and Etymology of the Gǫrnār Word Sǫmpþam*, Truman Michelson. *The Soma Offering in a Fragment of Alkman*, Winifred Warren Wilson. *Charity that Begins at Home (on this proverb in Classical writers)*, W. A. Heidel. Reviews: *Prentice's Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Syria* (David M. Robinson). *Boesch's De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione*. *Huelsen's Roman Forum*. *Schelling's Elizabethan Drama*. *Summaries of Periodicals*. Brief Mention: *Dalmeyde's Bacchae of Euripides*, *Sandys's ed. of Jebb's Theophrastus*, *Ludwich's Homerischer Hymnenbau*, the Editor.

No. 3.

Later echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets, Wilfred P. Mustard. [Linguistic notes on the Shāhbāzgarhi etc., Truman Michelson.] *Notes on Latin Syntax*, Emory B.

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Lease. *Cross-Suggestion. A form of Tacitean Brachylogy*, George Dwight Kellogg. Reviews. *Recent Literature on Ancient Animal Names and Effigies*, C. R. Eastman. D'Ooge's *Acropolis of Athens*, D. M. Robinson. Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention : Bithell's *the Minnesingers*, Mutzbauer's *Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre*, vol. 2, Rutherford's *Scholia Aristophanica*, the Editor. Maurice's *Namismatique Constantinienne*, H. L. W.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 32. No. 4. 1908.

Hermes Trismegistos, Sacred Book on the Decana, C. E. Ruelle. Text variants and French Translations of this astrological treatise. *Observations on Plautus* (continued), Louis Havet. On *Merc.* 305, 496-7, 566-70, [602], 806, *Mil.* 24, 37, 77, 221, 223, 240, 262, 427, 450-1, 483-4, 603, 606, [620], 628-9, 645, 650, 657, 660, 693, 707, 720-1, 754, 762, 777a, [790, 791, 830], 848, 852, (888). On the use of the writing *st=est*, J. Marouzeau. There are traces of a faulty substitution of *st* for *est* in the MSS of Plautus, and special considerations have to be had in regard. I. If the writing of *st* or *est* is indifferent to a copyist, he may use the shorter form where space is wanted, as at the end of a particularly long line. Hence barbarous forms like *quidst* (*Merc.* 285 A.). II. *st* is specially frequent before a stop and at the end of a verse. III. *est* is used after a break in the sense. IV. When preceding its attribute. V. When repeating a previous expression. On some passages of *Cicero's letters*, Georges Romain. *Att.* I. 14. 2-3, I. excepisse laudem de me ex eo quod nihilominus suspicarentur homines etc. *Fam.* I. 9, 23, *Alt.* V. 15. 3 I. *sim annuus*, V. 21. 1 I. *nunc spero*, ib. 12 I. *contentus non erat*, VI. 2. 7 I. *creberimis litteris*, *Fam.* VIII. 16. 2 place a comma after *cogamur* and a full stop after *habeamus*, V. 21. 2 I. *quavis statuta condicione*, XVI. 21. 2 for *uelles* I. *uellem*.

Vol. 33. No. 1. 1909.

'Ασπιρ—γενόμεν, Bernard Haussoullier. On an Inscription found at Amorgos. *Inscriptions of Chios and Erythrae*, the same. *Plorare, explorare*, H. de la Ville de Mirmont. *plorare* is much stronger than *flere* and implies the noisy manifestation of grief or pain; *explorare* expresses the noise that scouts (*exploratores*) make in beating the country. *The formal accession of Tiberius*, Philippe Fabia. Analysis of the account in Tacitus *Annals* I 11-13. *Three unpublished letters of Villosion*, Jules Nicole. Three interesting letters to Senebier, the librarian of Geneva. *Christian Inscriptions from Egypt*, D. Serruys. On M. Grégoire's theory of a 'Christian era' for Nos. 596 and 597 in Lefebvre's *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*. Note (assenting to the above), H. Grégoire. *Notes on certain Parisian MSS of Byzantine Histories*, D. Serruys. On MSS of Theodoret, Nicephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Georgius Hamartolos, Simeon Logothetes, Hippolytus of Thebes, Nicephoros Gregoras, Polyaeus. Reviews.

Nos. 2 and 3.

Oniroticron of the prophet Daniel dedicated to King Nebuchadnezzar, E. de Stoop. Text, varia lectio and prolegomena of a dream-book arranged alphabetically, e.g. Οὐρανὸν χάμαι πύρροντα ἰδεῖν ὑπὸ δυνάμει πραγμάτων δηλοῖ. *Donatist Epigraphy*, Paul Monceaux. The inscriptions examined show all the prominent features of Donatism 'Autorité souveraine des évêques, vénération dévote pour les chefs de communauté, idéal évangélique, obstination à rejeter la communion catholique, prééminence du martyre.' *A passage of the LXX in Parisinus 284 1* (palimpsest part), C. E. Ruelle. Rare variants in Job 42. 11 sqq. *The date of Seneca's Voyage to Egypt*, H. de la Ville de Mirmont. The evidence tends to show it was 39. *Seven unpublished letters of Villosion, Genet, Hennin Senebier and the Iliad MS Genevensis* 42, Charles Joret. Reviews.

No. 4.

A new Manuscript of the Divisiones Aristoteleae, Pierre Boudreaux. On Par. 39 which will be a useful supplement to Marcianus 257. *Aristotle* Probl. Phys. IV 13, C. E. Ruelle. For ἀίπωνι (p. 878 and 14-15) the oldest MS has ἀ φίπωνι. Read ἀ ἀφαιπόωνι. *Observations on Plautus* (continued), Louis Havet. On Miles 894 (914), 917-19, 1005, 1038, 1054, 1062, 1066, 1071, 1080, 1138, (1168), 1177, 1178, 1190, 1192, 1197, 1204-7, 1276, 1279, (1308), 1313-4, 1315, 1357, 1358, 1380, 1384, 1388, 1389, 1398, (1402), (1408), 1411-2, 1413 and 1421, 1426. *Eunomios Tachygrapher*, L. Parmentier. Εὐνομίον is to be replaced in Theodoret Hist. Eccl. IV 18. 7. *Note on a new fragmentary MS of Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History* (Par. Suppl. gr. 1248), the same. *The Magic in the Fourth Aeneid*, René Pichon. The pertinacity and elaboration with which Dido carries out the magical rites that cloke her suicide precludes the explanation that these are no more than a feint. It is improbable that V. introduced them into the account simply to gratify his readers. Rather he had some warrant in the representations of art or, more probably, in literary tradition in which Dido was depicted as a sorceress. There are other traces of the same thing. E.g. the words of Dido to Anna 421 sqq. may be a reminiscence of another tradition, mentioned by Servius, which V. did not adopt, that it was Anna and Aeneas who were the lovers. *The papyri of the LXX*, Gustave Bardy. List and comments. On a passage of the Elder Pliny, Eusèbe Vassel. In N.H. VII ii 8 *laudatio* is to be taken in its literal sense. According to a superstition still current in Tunis praise induces misfortune. On the assignment of replies and the order of words in certain passages of Plautus, Georges Romain. On Amph. 794 sq., Cas. 402-5, Curc. 487 sqq., Poen. 313-6, Ps. 349 sq., Trin. 1155. Reviews.

Mnemosyne. 38. 1. 1910.

K. Kuiper, *De discrepantiis hymni Homerici in Mercurium*. Thinks, in opposition to Hermann, Seeck, and Robert, that the hymn is the work, not of diasceuaists, but of one poet. Discusses the geography of the episode of the stolen cattle, and the episode of the invention and presentation to Apollo of the lyre. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In Quom. adul. 74 λ read κρατική for πρακτική; in Praec. reip. ger. 820 D read τὴν πολιτείαν for πολιτείας. P. H. Damsté, *Adn. ad Aeneidem* (from 26. 181). Further remarks on 7. 577, 624, 8. 627. Emendations in 10, 11, 12: 10. 186 (*Cycne transierim*), 362 sqq. (transpose 364, 5), 661-2 to follow 688 (*poscens for poscit*), 688 (*et ratis for et patris*), 880 (*pangimus for parvumus = pactione tutelam mihi firmare uolo*); 11. 438 (*omnis for animis*), 439 (*Paris for paria*), 640 sqq. (transpose the first halves of 642 and 644); 12. 54 (*secum for sese*), 173 (*tergora for tempora*), 444 (*caelo for caeco*), and other passages. Longo in 10. 769 defended. Idem, *Ad Hor. Sat. 2. 6. 46*. Defends Orelli's interpretation against Mueller's, but would read *deponantur* (for *untur*). H. v. H., *Tentatur locus Aristophanis*. Ach. 339: αὐτίχ' ὄρωι for αὐτὸν ὄρι τῷ. J. H. Leopold, *Ad gnomologium Epicureum Vaticanum*. Emendations. S. A. Naber, *Animaduvers. crit. ad Dionem Chrysostomum*. Emendations. J. Vürtheim, *De Soph. Philoct. vs. 388*. Sophocles alludes to Socrates here, and in Antig. 726 sqq. (cp. Apol. 21) and 1113 sqq.

38. 2. 1910.

P. H. Damsté, *Notulae criticae ad Sil. Ital.* (continued). 5. 43 (*receptos*), 175 (*agnoscens*), 191 (*cum ductor*, etc., with full stop at *malo*, not *Tyrius*), 370 (*saevaque*), 451 (*trepidus*); 6. 22 (*actis*), 33 (*morte*: 'corpse of one of the foe, lying hard by'), 117 (*aethera acervantem*), 186 (*primum*), 215 (*consequitur iuxta*), 308 (*duram*), 391 (*aris*), 560 (*at Latiae*); 7. 223 (*servari*), 380 (*uestigia Poeni*), 555 (*aeternum*); 8. 121 (read in the order 121, 123, 122, with *dirus*—horror as a parenthesis), 301 (*proelia* plura), and

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other corrections or defence of the MSS. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. In *Quom. quisq. suos in uirtute sentiat prof.* 77 F for $\tau\rho\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ read $\sigma\rho\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$. J. W. Bierma, *Ad Planti Rudentis uu.* 1169 sq. Give the whole of 1170 to Gripus, and in 1169 read *post illic sicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculae*. A. Poutsma, *Ad Horatium*. Defends *rimosa* in *Sat.* 2. 6. 46. K. Kuiper, *De Admeto Messeniaco*. Evidence of the connexion of A. with ancient cults belonging to the Peloponnese. J. J. H., *Ad Taciti Germ.* 7. Read *exempli . . . imperii*: the genitives will depend on *admiratione*. A. I. Kronenberg, *Ad Epictetum*. Emendations. J. J. H., *Ad Ovidium*. In *Pont.* 4. 12. 3, read *aut* for *namque* (m^2 has *ast*). J. J. Hartman, *Ann. crit. ad Plutarchi opera*. Critical notes, emendations and queries to the Theseus, Romulus, Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, Publiola, Themistocles, Camillus. J. v. Wageningen, *Scriba*. Explains *aliud scriptum habet Sarmentus, aliud populus uoluerat* (Schol. on *Juv.* 5. 3) as a joke on the phrase *scriptum habere* = (1) be a scribe (2) to be branded (as a runaway). Then explains *Hor. Sat.* 1. 5. 66 to mean 'as for your claiming scriptum (quaestorium) habere, we all know what this scriptum means, viz, that you're a runaway slave.' H. v. Herwerden, *Ad Menandrea*. Emendations, etc., based on text of Koerte's larger edition.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 25. 1. 1910.

H. Diels, *Die Anfänge der Philologie bei den Griechen*. Deals chiefly with the philological tendencies of Hdt., but also contrasts the attitude of Heraclitus (who sees in the similarity of the sound of *Bios* and *βίος* an outward token of his theory that Life and Death are really one) and Hecataeus with that of Parmenides and the atomists, who consider that words have nothing to do with the things they represent, but are based on conventional invention (*vóμος*, not *φύσις*). A. Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos zu Athen*. Reconstruction of the tombs of Dexileos, of the brothers Agathon and Sosicrates, and of Dionysios of Collytos: interpretation of the Coreobus group of monuments. O. F. Walzel, *Das Prometheusymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe*. *Anzeigen*, etc.: F. Boll, *Der Ursprung des Wortes Syphilis*. Derived from Siphilus, the hero of Fracastoro's poem. F. got the name from Sipylos: the Niobe episode of *Ov. M.* 6 inspired his third book; and not only is Niobe connected with Mount Sipylos, but one of her sons bears the name in *Ov. M.* 5. 231.

25. 2. 1910.

O. Crusius, *Über das Phantastische im Mimus*. Examines the fragments of Sophron, the mimes of Herondas, the mimic poems of Theocritus, the fragments of the Latin mime, and two Oxyrhynchus farces, and comes to the conclusion (against Reich) that the marvellous and fantastic plays only a subordinate part in the ancient mime—entering it mainly through the narrow gates of the Dream and Superstition. A. von Salis, *Die Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma*. Describes the remains of the theatre, the temple at Didyma, the two Thermae, Markets, the Bouleuterion. Dimensions of the old city which the Persians captured much greater than those of the new one. Seven plates, and illustrations in the text. O. F. Walzel, *Das Prometheusymbol von Shaftesbury zu Goethe*. Continued from Part I. *Anzeigen*, etc.: F. Boll, *Zum Ursprung des Wortes Syphilis*. Notes that the mountain is sometimes spelt *siphyl-*, *siphil-*, *siphil-* in MSS. and old edd.

25. 3. 1910.

O. Schroeder, *Über altgriechische Volksliedstrophen*. Greek variations of the old Indo-Germanic rising, four-arsis line. The catalectic form, in which the last two syllables are in arsis, the fourth thesis being apparently suppressed, is probably the oldest. On the other hand in the Aeolic eight-syllable line the catalectic form is an innovation, caused by the resemblance of one form of it to a form of the four-arsis

line. In the Sapphic, Hephaestion's analysis is correct: two trochees, choriambus, bacchiac. The Adonic is a catalectic three-arsis line. J. Kromayer, *Die Schlacht am Trasimenischen See*. In favour of the Passignano-Torricella site. Map, and illustrations. H. Windisch, *Das Neue Testament im Lichte der neu gefundenen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka*. Mainly an account of Deissman's *Licht vom Osten*, but disputes D.'s view that the Pauline letters belong to the non-literary class, maintaining that such letters as *Colossians*, *Ephesians* and *Romans* are a cross between the simple Letter and the literary Epistle. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: A. Döring's *Geschichte der griech. Philosophie* summarized and praised by F. Erhardt, A. v. Domaszewski's *Geschichte der röm. Kaiser* noticed by H. Peter.

[26. 3. P. Cauer, *Die homerische Frage im Unterricht*.]

25. 4. 1910.

H. v. Arnim, *Kunst und Weisheit in den Komödien Menanders*. In his diction combines unity and beauty of style with the multiplicity of expression demanded by the principles of Drama. Richness in maxims. His characters are 'typical,' and yet 'individual.' Excels in the humour which makes us laugh one moment and shed a tear the next: he knows, and loves, man's nature. F. Koepp, *Pergamenische Skulpturen*. Based on vol. 7 of the 'Altertümer von Pergamon' (*Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs*). Three plates and an illustration in the text. M. Siebourg, *Horaz und die Rhetorik*. H.'s references to the impartiality of death remind us of the commonplace of the *Consolations*; in *Od.* 1. 27 the first stanza is there because it was the rule in these works, not to reproach, at the very outset, the mourner for his weakness; the speeches in the Odes are rhetorical: that of Regulus in 3. 5 may be compared with parts of Quint. Decl. 339; *Epist.* 1. 2 is full of maxims, some of which are very like some of Publilius' iambics: we know from the elder Sen. how dear to the declamation-schools were such *sententiae*. K. Dieterich, *Zum Gedächtnis an Karl Krumbacher*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: P. D. C. Hennings, *Die Heimat der Phäaken*. Ischia, not Corfu; K. Sudhoff's *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden* described by J. I.

Rheinisches Museum. 65. 1. 1910.

W. Bannier, *Weitere Bemerkungen zu den attischen Rechnungs- und Uebergabeurkunden*. F. Jacoby, *Tibulls erste Elegie*. 3. The erotic part of the poem a mere cento from Propertius (I. 6, 17, and 19) and Comedy. 4. The picture from 59 onwards is drawn from city life, and suits ill the bucolic setting of the previous lines. Tib. could not help himself: he was writing elegy, not bucolic poetry. Similarly in II. 1 *Amor* has to be thrust in among the *ruris dei*. 5. Tib. might have succeeded in bucolic or even satiric poetry: for elegy he had no gift. T. Stangl, *Bobiensia*. Conjectures, etc. U. Hoefer, *Apollodoros περὶ γῆς*. Against Niese's view that Scymnus' *Periegesis* is little more than an abridged and slightly altered reproduction of the work points out the direct use by him of Ephorus and his frequent agreement with Strabo, whom N. himself does not believe to have used the *περὶ γῆς*. T. Steinwender, *Zur Schlachtordnung der Manipulare*. Describes what he believes to have been the ordinary procedure for getting the troops into position. *Acies instruere* means to get the heavy troops into the frame formed by *Velites* and *Equites*. The five standards of Plin. N. H. 10. 4. 16 were connected with the Servian classes. A. Brinkmann, *Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht*. Theon (*Spengel*, 101. 3 sqq.) shows that in his day the method for teaching the use of the cases exemplified in Kenyon's tablets was employed by the rhetors in conn. with the *χρεια*. *Miscellen*: T. Gomperz, *Zu Kallimachos*. In 54. 3 read ἦν δ' αὖ σε λίθυ ποτὶ καὶ μὴν ἀνατῆς. W. Crönert, *Die beiden ältesten griech. Briefe*. Text, commentary, translation.

65. 2. 1910.

J. H. Little, *The dramatists of the Hellenistic age*. Herwerden, 1909. vol. 5. A. E. Bickel, *Die griech. Epigramme*. Each of the 100 is entirely on a single subject, drawn also with historical background, gradually developing the subject. Minotaur story. him on Attic bull at the A. herself has n. E. Bickel, *Die M.*, but emendation. *possidet urbem* 1. 798 sqq. Also treats Emendations. *die Form der* of dramatic certain 'units' which do not precede or keep MSS. *Quaestio Com.* Menander. *Acharnen* 490. Oinoanda. I. in his original. Account of the in *Rh. Mus.* *securam curam* G. Lascaris. Emendation.

Wochen

24 Jan.

pseudoplatonisch und den *Hera* P. Krenkel, *De vita et m. laborious.* lating and Gardthausen. 'A very val 31 Jan favourable.

65. 2. 1910.

J. H. Lipsius, *Didaskalika*. Supports against Capps the view that in the lists the dramatist's name was inserted only when he had acted as διδάσκαλος. H. v. Herwerden, *Commentatiuncula quinta ad Libanii ed. Foersterianam*. Emendations on vol. 5. A. Elter, *Zu Hierokles dem Neuplatoniker*. His *περὶ προνοίας* started with a dedicatory epistle to Olympiodorus, with a general account of the plan and object of the work, at the end of which came a table of contents showing the subject of each of the seven λόγοι that followed. Photius' description in cod. 214 is based entirely on this preliminary part of the book: in his excerpts (cod. 251) he has drawn also upon the first three λόγοι. E. Bethe, *Minos*. Attempts to ascertain the historical bases of the legend of M. Originally a bull worshipped as a god, then gradually declines to the position of a hero. The war between M. and Nisus represents the war between two neighbouring tribes on the coast of Megara. In the Minotaur story we see Theseus free Athens from the rule of Minos by conquering him on Attic territory. For this victory of T.'s is identical with that over the Minos bull at the Attic Marathon, and indeed he has no connexion with Crete. Ariadne herself has no festival there, though she is honoured in the *Oschophoria* at Athens. E. Bickel, *De Manilio et Tiberio Caesare*. M.'s Caesar is Tiberius. In 4. 776 follow M., but emend *meus* (too familiar) and *orbem*, reading *qua genitus Caesarque deus nunc possidet urbem*. For *que* postponed so far cp. 1. 847. T. was born under Libra. In 1. 798 sqq. *Diuum = Julium Caesarem, in coetu* is astronomical = "in conjunction." Also treats 1. 386 (and, in passing, 242 sqq.) and 922 sqq. Th. Stangl, *Bobiensia*. Emendations to the B.-scholia on *pro Plancio, pro Milone, pro Sestio*. K. Witte, *Ueber die Form der Darstellung in Livius Geschichtswerk*. L.'s genius lies in the description of dramatic episodes. Sometimes the events he handles had already in Polybius a certain 'unity,' in other cases we can trace the art he has used to give it to events which do not in Polybius in any way stand out from his narrative of the events that preceded or succeeded them. *Miscellen*: W. Crönert, *Zu Kallimachos. Ep. 54. 3* keep MSS. reading, except that *γινώσκειν* is needed for *γινώσκεις*; A. Kretschmar, *Quaestio Comica*. Thinks that the fragments in Oxyr. Pap. 6 n. 855 may be from Menander. Exx. of his use of article at end of line; S. Sudhaus, *Aristophanes Acharnen* 490-498. In 494 read ἀντροῦ τὸ πρᾶγμ'; S. Sudhaus, *Zu Diogenes von Oinoanda*. In fr. 4. l. 13 read Ἀρκείλας for Ἀριστοτέλης: Diogenes perhaps found in his original the abbreviation Ἀρκ.; R. Philippson, *Zu Philodem περὶ σημειώσεων*. Account of the MSS. readings in certain passages discussed in his paper published in *Rh. Mus.* Jan. 1909; K. Meiser, *Zu Tac. Dial. 37*. For *ut securam uelint* read *ut securam curam uelint*; T. Birt, *Zu Phylenordnung Alexandrias*; G. Mercati, *Quando mori G. Lascaris*. Dec. 7, 1534 (cod. Vat. gr. 2240); A. Brinkmann, *Lückenbüßer*, 8. Emendation of the Ninos romance.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1910.

24 Jan. A. Köster, *Das Pelargikon* (E. Wilisch), favourable. J. Pavlu, *Der pseudoplatonische Kleitophon* (R. Adam), favourable. O. Edert, *Über Senecas Herakles und den Herakles auf dem Oeta* (W. Gemoll). 'A careful and well-founded dissertation.' P. Krenkel, *De codicis Valeriani Carionis auctoritate* (M. Manitius), favourable. Tacitus, *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae liber*, ed. E. Hedicke (C. John). 'Meritorious and laborious.' J. J. Schlicher, *The temporal Cum-clause and its rivals* (H. Blase). 'Stimulating and interesting, though the results are not satisfactory.' M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (W. Schmid). 'A very valuable aid to the investigation of Greek manuscripts.'

31 Jan. O. Nussbaumer, *Die Satzhopula im Indogermanischen* (H. Ziemer), favourable. D. Fimmen, *Zeit und Dauer der Kretischmykenischen Kultur* (A. Wiede-

mann), favourable. R. Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Reliefkeramik* (P. Goessler), 'Has laid the foundation for further investigation.' E. A. Stückelberg, *Die römischen Kaisermünzen als Geschichtsquellen* (J. Moeller), favourable. L. v. Sybel, *Christliche Antike*. II. Plastik, Architektur und Malerei (J. Ziehen), very favourable. R. C. Kukulka, *Aphorismen über metrisches Lesen* (H. D.), favourable.

7 Feb. Pauly's *Realencyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. 12 Halbband, *Euxantios—Fornaces* (Fr. Harder). A. W. Mair, *Hesiod, the Poems and Fragments, done into English Prose*, and *Hésiode, Les travaux et les jours*. Par P. Waltz (J. Sitzler), favourable, the English better than the French. S. Ehrenfeld, *Farbenbezeichnungen in der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (J. Müller), favourable. K. Meister, *De itinervario Aetheriae abbatisae perperam nomini S. Silviae addicto* (Köhler), favourable. P. Herre, *Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer* (Köhler), 'Very interesting.' F. Nicolardot, *Les procédés de rédaction des trois premiers évangélistes* (C. Rauch), favourable. N. Terzaghi, *Synesiana* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

14 Feb. Σπουδαίς. Grazer Festgabe zur 50. Versammlung deutscher Philologen (H. Draheim). W. Eberhart, *Beiträge zur Lösung der Sprachrätsel* (H. Ziemer), unfavourable. *Commentationes Aenipontanae* IV. A. Zingerle, *Übersicht über philologische Handschriften aus tirolischen Bibliotheken*.—G. Müller, *Zur Würdigung Polyäns*.—J. Lechner, *De cod. Aenipontano 579 quo continentur Ovidii Remedia amoris* (J. Ziehen). V. Coulon, *Quaestiones criticae in Aristophanis fabulas* (W. Süss), favourable. M. Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens*. Transl. by J. Loeb (G. Schneider), very favourable. F. Kahle, *De Demosthenis orationum Androtionae Timocrateae Aristocrateae temporibus* (G. Schneider), favourable. W. Vollgraff, *Nikander und Ovid*. I. (J. Ziehen). 'Broadens and deepens our view of Nicander.' *Libri a. u. c. libri*, ed. A. Zingerle. VII. 5. Lib. XXXV. Ed. mai. (W. Heraeus), favourable. Apuleius of Madaura, *The Apologia and Florida*, transl. by H. E. Butler (C. W.), favourable.

21 Feb. Τεσσαρακονταετηρίς τῆς καθηγησίας Κ. Σ. Κόντου. Φιλολογικαὶ διατριβαὶ (G. Wartenberg). A. R. v. Kleemann, *Die Stellung der Enthyphron im Corpus Platonicum* (G. Lehnert), favourable. M. v. Kobilinski, *Alter und neuer Versrhythmus* (H. Draheim), unfavourable.

28 Feb. *Aristophanis Pax*, ed. K. Zacher, praefatus est O. Bachmann (E. Wüst), very favourable. G. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna*. I. *La campagna romana in genere* (Köhler), favourable. A. Schulten, *Ausgrabungen in Numantia* (R. Oehler), favourable. F. C. Wick, *Vindiciae carminum Pompeianorum* (W. Heraeus). 'Very welcome as showing independent judgment.' H. Linck, *Zur Übersetzung und Erläuterung der Kanones IV, VI, und VII der Konzils von Nicara* (C. W.), favourable. H. Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

NUMISMATICS.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 3. 1909.

M. P. Vlasto, *On a Recent Find of Coins struck during the Hannabalic Occupation at Tarentum*. An analysis of a hoard of 114 silver coins discovered at Tarentum, and probably buried about 210 B.C. All the specimens are of Tarentum itself, except twelve Metapontine and six Punic coins which, it is suggested, may have been struck at Tarentum under monetary magistrates chosen by Hannibal. It is further suggested that the weight-standard (average, about 3.84 grammes) of these Tarentine and Metapontine coins was based on that of the reduced Roman denarius (3.90 grammes), and these Graeco-Italian pieces are also found to tally with the Punic

drachm, which Antigonus I. of An arranged figured p. 27. head that is suggests that had reached portrait to be Emperor's li may add a p Heraclius, a that of his p tyrant Phoca resembling I portrait, evid

Part 4.

The gre Weher, entit Works of Ar for one or t Coins of Cori coinage, sing Head's Catal was the first matica, descri arrangement writer calls a which is the was still the continued, fo ignored the seem to be an occurrence o very beautifu series assign Pegasus and up on some laurel wreath to the naval The circlet o the goddess Syracusan al this change Finally, Om Pegasus is standing tied coins belong that Pegasus to war—i.e., with diffiden truce with A

drachm, which weighed 3·82 grammes. C. T. Seltman, *A Synopsis of the Coins of Antigonus I. and Demetrius Poliorcetes*. J. G. Milne, *The Alexandrian Coinage of Galba*. An arrangement is attempted by issues. An unpublished billon tetradrachm, figured p. 274, bears on the obverse the name and titles of Galba, accompanying a head that is different from any other Alexandrian heads of this Emperor. Milne suggests that it is a fancy portrait, struck as soon as the news of Galba's accession had reached Alexandria, but before there had been time for an authentic model-portrait to be supplied to the die-engraver. Milne notes the similar invention of an Emperor's likeness in the case of the earliest Alexandrian issues of Vespasian. I may add a parallel in the Byzantine series: the earliest gold coins of the Emperor Heraclius, A.D. 610, bear his name, but a portrait hardly to be distinguished from that of his predecessor Phocas. Now Heraclius had been called in to destroy the tyrant Phocas, and coins were evidently struck in haste, with a fictitious portrait resembling Phocas. When Heraclius was firmly seated on the new throne, a new portrait, evidently that of the Emperor himself, was substituted.

Part 4. 1909.

The greater part of this number is taken up by a long article by Dr. F. P. Weber, entitled *Aspects of Death, and their Effects on the Living, as illustrated by Minor Works of Art, especially Medals, Engraved Gems, Jewels, etc.*, but space has been found for one or two more strictly numismatic articles. C. W. Oman, *The Fifth-Century Coins of Corinth*. Compared with the ever-increasing literature of the Athenian coinage, singularly little has been written about the analogous currency of Corinth. Head's Catalogue of the Corinthian Coins in the British Museum, published in 1889, was the first important contribution to the subject. Oman, in the *Corolla Numismatica*, described various new or neglected specimens, and suggested a chronological arrangement which in the present interesting paper he carries still further. The writer calls attention, at the outset, to the paucity of coins of the period 480-430 B.C., which is the more remarkable because during the greater part of this time Corinth was still the second commercial state in Greece. Probably Corinth, like Athens, continued, for trade reasons, to reproduce coins of archaic style, and purposely ignored the contemporary advance in art. Some coins, then, which at first sight seem to be archaic, may really belong to this period; they may be identified by the occurrence of the letter Koppa both on obverse and reverse. Oman publishes three very beautiful specimens, Plate xxvi., Nos. 4, 5, 6, of the period 451-448 B.C. In a series assigned to 440-443 B.C. there is a strange discrepancy between the archaic Pegasus and the Athena-head of fine style. Were old dies, it is asked, being used up on some emergency? A few attractive historical allusions are suggested. A laurel wreath which exceptionally appears on the helmet of the Athena may relate to the naval victory of the Corinthians at Sybota over the Corcyraeans in 432 B.C. The circlet of dolphins which surrounds (as on the coins of Syracuse) the head of the goddess on coins assigned to 414-412 B.C. may be due to the Corinthian and Syracusan alliance. Considering the stereotyped nature of the coinage of Corinth, this change is certainly remarkable, and we are entitled to read a meaning into it. Finally, Oman inquires into the date of that curious group of staters on which the Pegasus is shown neither running nor walking nor bending down to drink, but standing tied up to a ring by his bridle. The dating is very difficult; perhaps the coins belong to the years 414 B.C. Oman maintains that the meaning of the type is that Pegasus—the national badge—is tied up because he is not allowed to go forth to war—i.e., peace has set in, and he may stay at home; and he suggests, though with diffidence, an allusion to the Peace of Nicias in 421, when Corinth concluded a truce with Athens. *The 'Medallion' of Agrigentum*. The greater part of this article

consists of a paper by Mr. E. J. Seltman which had already appeared in an American numismatic journal, and also, translated into French, in *Le Musée*. It has not therefore the attraction of novelty. In a comment on the paper by Mr. H. A. Grueber he states (p. 364) that he has lately had an opportunity of seeing the 'medallion' (decadrachm) in the Munich Collection, and sees no reason to doubt its genuineness, which had been called in question by M. Sambon.

Revue Numismatique. Part 1. 1909.

J. de Foville, *Les monnaies grecques et romaines de la Collection Valton*. An account of the coins bequeathed by Prosper Valton to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Those here illustrated and described are fine pieces of Magna Graecia and Sicily. M. C. Soutzo, *Essai de classification des Monnaies de bronze émises en Égypte par les trois premiers Lagides*. J. G. Gassies, *Moyen bronze inédit de Germanicus*. Reverse type, seated goddess (Vesta). R. Mowat, *Les dégrèvements d'impôts et d'amendes inscrits sur les monnaies impériales romaines*. On coins with inscriptions such as 'Vehiculatione Italiae remissa,' 'Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata.'

Part 2. 1909.

Dieudonné, *Numismatique Syrienne*. (1) Tyre or Antioch? Among the mass of silver tetradrachms of the Imperial age usually assigned to Antioch are some which, as Imhoof-Blumer first showed, belong, from their mint-marks, to other cities of Syria and Phoenicia. Those specimens of Trajan and Hadrian which display an eagle standing on a club have been usually assigned to Tyre, but reasons are here set forth for regarding them as part of the coinage of Antioch. (2) As to the regnal years of Emperors on the coins of Antioch. (3) ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ on a coin of Seleucia in Pieria, dated '188.' The date has hitherto been regarded as equivalent to A.D. 157-158, reckoning from the Actian Era, and 'Comodus' has been identified with C. Julius Commodus Orfitianus, a Roman governor, who is not, however, recorded to have been legatus of Syria. Dieudonné maintains that the date is reckoned from the era of Seleucia, and is thus equivalent to 78-79 A.D. The name of the legatus of Syria for this period is not preserved, but it is suggested that he may have been L. Ceionius Commodus, who is known to have been consul in 78 A.D. This would be the 'Comodus' of the coin. R. Jameson, *Le trouvaille de Milo*. The eight remarkable silver coins of Melos, published in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1908, now prove to be only a selection from larger finds which were made in the island in 1907 and 1908. Seventy-nine of these coins have passed into various collections, among which the British Museum is, I am sorry to say, not at present represented, for the specimens which it had an opportunity of acquiring were either not well preserved or were priced—or so it seemed—too high. Mr. Jameson, who is the fortunate possessor of many of the coins, here gives a description of thirty-one specimens, each photographed in his two plates. The publication of these coins at once raises the island of Melos to a position of numismatic importance hitherto quite unsuspected. (The case of Peparethus is to some extent parallel.) All the coins bear on the obverse the well-known badge of Melos, a pomegranate or, as M. Svoronos maintains, a quince, with the exception of one specimen, which has a vase (ewer) as its type. The reverse types are astonishingly diversified, for, in addition to stars, rosettes, and other ornamental devices, we find a wheel (two distinct types), a triskelis, a crescent, a four-pronged spear, a fig-leaf, an amphora, three dolphins, a ram's head, a Gorgoneion, the head of a youthful Cabirus (?), and even other types, of which a wasp on a bunch of grapes is the most curious. The coins are of the fifth century, probably struck, according to Jameson, between *circa* 476 and 416 B.C., when Melos

was more or less completely independent of Athens. Some specimens are uninscribed, but most have the inscription MAAION, the **M** being of an early form, and the **O** figuring as **C** or **U**. Jameson thinks that the reverse types may be separated into groups relating to the Cabiri, to Dionysos, etc. One can hardly deny the possibility of such groupings, but, on the whole, the subjects are too many and too varied to admit of this arrangement, and in most cases it seems better (as Macdonald has suggested) to regard each 'type' as a magistrate's signet, like the 'types' on the silver coins of Abdera. J. de Foville describes five Sicilian coins in the Valton Collection.

Part 3. 1909.

J. de Foville describes coins of Continental Greece in the Valton Collection. G. Dattari writes on the Sestertius in the Roman Empire. J. Rouvier has a paper that on the Era of Alexander the Great on coins of Phoenicia. His conclusions are all the cities of Phoenicia used an era of Alexander dating from 333-332 B.C. (the Battle of Issus), and that dates of this era are inscribed on the Alexandrine coinages of Aradus, Sidon, etc. The era was abolished by Ptolemy I., who substituted for it, as the towns became annexed to his realm, the era of 301 B.C.

Part 4. 1909.

Soutzo, *L'U, le Qa et la Mine*. Remarks on an Essay on Assyrian Metrology, published by Thureau-Dangin in the *Journ. Asiatique*, January-February, 1909. Villenoisy and Frémont. *Le carré creux*. On the various forms of incuse square on Greek coins. Dieudonné, *Numismatique Syrienne*. An interesting paper on the 'eagle' coins of Antioch. R. Mowat, *On the Countermark NCAPR* (Nero Caesar Augustus Princeps).

WARWICK WROTH.